WE ACCUSE

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Documentary Sketch

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Валерій Стиркул

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"MAN WANTS TO KNOW, AND WHEN HE CEASES TO DO SO, HE IS NO LONGER A MAN."

FRIDTJOF NANSEN

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Before long, the Soviet nation will mark the 40th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945). In remembering this significant occasion, one constantly recalls the heroism of the Soviet people at the front, behind the lines, and in the lands under Nazi occupation.

The USSR and the rest of the Allies suffered terrible losses to wipe out Nazism and to prevent Hitler's maniacal plans from being carried out. (The Führer was already dreaming of how he would get even with Roosevelt's America and Churchill's Britain and establish the Nazi "new order" all over the planet.) The only thing Hitler needed was victory on the Eastern Front, but it was there that the Wehrmacht machine was brought to a screeching halt and virtually destroyed.

A certain role in the plans for an armed attack on the Soviet Union and the following colonization and "mastering" of the occupied territories drawn up in Berlin offices was allocated for the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. In so doing, the Nazi planners took into account the boastful reports filed by Abwehr agents with various OUN, Petlura and Hetmanite nationalist organizations abroad, mostly to the effect that once they appeared in the Ukraine,

all the people there would allegedly throw themselves on their knees before the nationalists and the German occupiers.

Reality, however, was to have the final say. When the nationalist turncoats reached the Ukraine in the wake of the Nazi onslaught, they launched a boisterous propaganda campaign for "close cooperation with Great National-Socialist Germany." People living in the Nazi-occupied areas refused to yield to the aggressor, resolutely fighting for liberation from the Nazi invaders and their zealous assistants — the Ukrainian nationalists.

The scandal-filled biography of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism reveals an endless chain of acts running counter to the universally recognized rules of International Law, acts that can only be qualified as criminal offenses under the laws of many countries. If a list of these inhuman accomplishments were to be drawn up, it would be topped by the terroristic endeavors of the so-called Ukrainian Military Organization and its successor, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The latter is still a reliable tool of espionage and subversion in the hands of Western intelligence agencies and the reactionary administrations of quite a few capitalist countries. Such a list would also include the war crimes and those against peace and humanity perpetrated by OUN and other nationalist organizations during WWII.

Precisely these Ukrainian Nazi collaborators formed the nucleus of what became the *14. Grenadieren Waffen SS Division "Galizien"* (SS Halychyna Division), organized on the instructions of the Third Reich Command — specifi-

cally authorized by SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler, commander in chief of the *Waffen SS*. Its formation was made public through official channels in April 1943.

Until May 1945, when Nazi Germany formally surrendered to the Allies, this division obediently executed the orders it received from Himmler and his generals.

In the West, the surviving Ukrainian veterans of this SS unit held noisy celebrations in honor of the 40th anniversary of its formation as part of the Nazi SS troops *(Waffen SS)* and launched a 3-year campaign to glorify that division's further deeds (1944-1945).

After the fall — or, rather, the historically predetermined debacle — of the Third Reich, the Ukrainian nationalists exerted tremendous efforts to convince everyone that the SS Halychyna Division had never had anything to do with the *Waffen SS*, that the letters "SS" on its insignia originated not from the Nazi *Schutzstaffel* (literally "guard detachments") but from the Ukrainian *Sichovi Strilci* ("Riflemen of the Sich"), and that the division was practically involved in the struggle against the Nazi occupiers. Contrary to obvious facts, the nationalists have persistently presented it as a "Ukrainian division," as part of some mythical "Ukrainian Army" which had been fabricated at the time, much to the delight of Dr. Goebbels's propaganda apparatus. Thus, in some cases Ukrainians living abroad have believed these lies invented by their nationalist leaders. Most of these Ukrainians were born in countries other than the Ukraine, so their conception of what really happened there, especially during the

war, is by and large based on what they read or hear from eyewitnesses. It is at this point that the SS-minded nationalists step in, determined to keep secret what really took place. They supply a variety of purposefully distorted interpretations aimed at corrupting their ill-informed audiences.

For more than three years, the Nazi intruders thought they were in the occupied Soviet territories to stay as they put into practice the inhuman provisos of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, leaving in their wake smoking ruins and heaps of mutilated bodies, implementing the Nazi Plan *Ost* and many other schemes as criminal. It was thus the Soviet nation and all other freedom-loving peoples, especially those who experienced the nightmare of the Nazi onslaught, received with marked approval the verdict of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg which meted out capital punishment for major Nazi war criminals. All these peoples were enthusiastic when the Allies assured them that every possible aid would be provided in locating and bringing to justice the rest of the war criminals, as well as in uprooting Nazism and its masterminds and adherents.

Before long, however, the Western governments forgot their solemn obligations, forswore the responsibilities they had assumed, in all due formality, whereby they would render every possible type of cooperation in locating and punishing war criminals. What was even worse, these governments became the latter's outspoken advocates, whitewashing the pasts found in the records of many displaced persons at that period. Instead, these criminals were re-

ferred to as refugees and emigres. Eventually, some of these abominable characters were advertised as "champions of freedom."

Thus "absolved" in the West, the surviving Nazi criminals proceeded to set up "fraternities," "unions" and "associations" in their new countries of residence — mostly in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, West Germany and other capitalist countries. They began to publish their own newspapers, magazines, and memoirs. They were anxious to preserve their hard-earned and cherished Nazi decorations and insignia, and wholeheartedly joined the campaign to brainwash local communities, concentrating, of course, on the younger generation. A place of note among these criminal elements rightfully belongs to the veteran SS men of the Halychyna Division — but their Nazi SS affiliation remains obvious, no matter how hard these characters may try to disguise their identity, posing as "war veterans," "combatants," or as even "anti-Nazi activists."

Taking this particular SS division as an example, the most essential differences between the propagandistic rhetoric of the Ukrainian nationalists and their actual criminal actions can be most eloquently revealed. These controversies are, in fact, the leitmotif of *We Accuse...*

IN LIEU OF AN INTRODUCTION

On June 7, 1980, Sol Littman wrote in *The Toronto Star* (Canada):

"They are mostly old men now, in their late 60s and 70s, shuffling about their suburban Canadian homes, careful not to offend their neighbors.

"But they stand accused of committing horrible crimes in their youth — torture, murder, the transport of Jews and non-Jews to death camps and the ruthless extermination of whole villages.

"They are among the Nazi collaborators convicted *in absentia* of war crimes by the Russian and Hungarian governments who now live safely in Canada, immune — so far — from extradition, deportation and prosecution.

"Estimates of their number vary, from half-a-dozen to 1,000...

"About 1,000 members of a Ukrainian infantry division that fought alongside the Germans escaped to Canada. Known as the 14th Galician Infantry, the division was commended by SS leader Heinrich Himmler and renamed the First Ukrainian SS Infantry Division in honor of Hitler's birthday.

"Its members still meet regularly, maintain branches in 11 major Canadian cities and play an influential role in a number of Ukrainian-Canadian organizations...

"Trying to find some legal way to prosecute those believed guilty of war crimes, Canadian Jewish Congress researcher Kenneth Harvey stumbled on the War Crimes Act of 1946 and was surprised to learn it is still in effect.

"However, the act was intended to deal only with enemy crimes against Canadian troops in Europe and the Far East."

The above makes any editorial commentary superfluous, except for the attempts of certain political circles to back up such criminals using one-sided interpretations of their past activities. The human conscience cannot reconcile itself to the fact that one-time murderers are legally justified because they have killed not Canadian soldiers but those serving in the armies of Canada's wartime allies (even though quite a few of those killed in action had Canadian citizenship). Likewise, it can never be accepted that all those former Nazi killers (presently judged "innocent" by Canada's many legal advisors) were never part to any of the shooting, hanging, torturing to death, burning alive or leaving thousands of their victims to meet their end by starvation that went on during the war. Among their victims were thousands upon thousands of Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Lithuanians, Latvians, Poles, and persons representing other nationalities. Their deaths are still bemoaned by relatives and friends currently residing in different countries, including Canada.

The Nazi cutthroats committed heinous crimes against humanity and against citizens living in a number of countries. Neither the surviving victims nor witnesses will ever

forget these atrocities. Humanity shall never pardon those responsible, even though some of the war criminals can enjoy life in the West, legally untouchable.

It is also true, nonetheless, that by taking a closer look at the Canadian Criminal Law, particularly at the War Crimes Act signed 1946, any educated individual is likely to have quite a different view on the situation than that found in Sol Littman's discourse quoted above. The War Crimes Act as well as the 1949 Geneva conventions and other instruments duly signed by the Canadian government make it imperative that Canadian authorities bring legal action against war criminals, irrespective of where the latter may have committed their crimes, or whether their victims were in military service or civilians, Canadian or foreign citizens. The point, therefore, is not so much the legal aspect as the unwillingness fully to apply the law against war criminals who, as inveterate enemies of the Soviet Union, have won the sympathy of the reactionary forces in the capitalist countries.

Nazi war criminals feel completely at home in other Western countries, too. Thus, veteran SS men of the Halychyna Division openly associate in different "brotherhoods" in the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Argentina and West Germany. Still, the reactionary forces of these countries, while making it impossible to mete out just punishment to these killers — characters once directly involved in the implementation of Nazi genocide — are unable to deny people the world over the opportunity to voice their strong protest against and resolute

condemnation of all those who once put these people's dear ones to death. The world public demands that these sadists be brought before the tribunal of history and conscience. Numerous public organizations in the USA, Canada and elsewhere, as well as many lawyers and other individuals are obviously deeply convinced that war criminals should be decisively opposed as the instigators and direct executors of the insane plans for the revival of Nazism, whether or not this doctrine is presented as a "modern" trend.

A repetition of WWII's Nazi genocide — the extermination of whole nations — is where the current policy of the American Administration, aimed at getting ready for a nuclear holocaust (including the use of outer space for that purpose), is leading mankind. When, in April 1983, the Canadian government signed the agreement allotting Canadian soil for cruise missile tests, the Canadian public responded with a strong protest effort against that new attempt to involve Canada in the madness of the nuclear arms race, demanding in the most decisive of terms that the country be proclaimed a nuclear free zone. Progressive Ukrainian organizations such as the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) and the Workers' Benevolent Association (WBA) have taken a most active part in this campaign. A telegram of protest, addressed to the Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, read:

"The National Executive Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians unanimously and unequivocally protests your government's agreement allowing the testing

of the Cruise Missile and other United States' military systems on Canadian soil. We deplore this escalation of the nuclear arms race. In the name of humanity, rescind this agreement and declare Canada a nuclear weapons free zone."

The above AUUC message served to express the ideas and demands of all progressive Canadians. Meetings and demonstrations swept Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, Edmonton, Vancouver and other cities, its participants joining in the chorus of an impassioned appeal against turning the country into a testing ground for its southern neighbor.

An altogether different stand was taken by the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, among them quite a few former SS men and other war criminals. Rather thoughtlessly, they acted — and still do — in support of the Pentagon's nuclear stratagems, harboring maniacal hopes of assuming power in a nuclear-blast-charred Ukraine.

The crimes of these Nazi collaborators must serve as a warning to the new warmongers. Once again, it should remind people that they must do their best to avert the return of Nazism, to prevent another world war, and to eliminate the very possibility of genocide and a new Holocaust.

I. HALYCHYNA

The *Waffen SS Division "Galizien"* (Halychyna Division) was set up in 1943, named after the Nazi-formed district within the *Generalgouvernement.* Manpower for this SS formation was procured mostly from among the populace.

Ethnographically and administratively, Galicia (Halychyna) is divided into Western Galicia, mostly inhabited by Poles, and Eastern Galicia, populated by Ukrainians. The events described in this chapter actually took place in Eastern Galicia. Historically Ukrainian territory, it repeatedly found itself torn away from the Ukraine and exposed to mass economic exploitation and political black marketeering.

It was from Galicia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, that Ukrainians began intensive emigration. This exodus from Galicia and other Ukrainian lands came as the direct result of the difficult economic and political situation of the masses. The Austro-Hungarian constitution demagogically declared equality among all the peoples constituting the Monarchy, while in practice the Ukrainians were reduced to the role of the *Untermenschen* — second-rate, inferior humans — predestined merely to serve the whims of the ruling nations.

In the late 19th century, Galicia, like the other outlying provinces of Austro-Hungary,

possessed formal autonomy, having its own National *Sejm* (Parliament), among whose 150 "deputies" only 11 were Ukrainians in 1883. In 1891, there were 13 Ukrainians among the 161 deputies. The picture concerning the so-called Galician representation at the Federal Parliament was even more disheartening. Galicia was the scene of forceful Polonization, Hungarianization, Rumanianization and Germanization of the Ukrainian populace. The latter's condition was also determined by the fact that there were almost five times fewer Ukrainian students in the secondary schools than those representing the privileged nationalities. The leadership of the wishy-washy, soft-pedalling Ukrainian bourgeois-liberal clerical People's Party regarded individual instances of the participation of Galicians in their *Sejm*, as well as the enrollment of some of the younger generation in grade schools and institutions of higher learning as "significant attainments." They went so far as to proclaim Galicia a "Ukrainian Piedmont" which was to serve as an encouraging example for all the Ukrainian territories, and one which would supposedly unite them all.

The common folk in Galicia, however, had developed their own conception of the official version of "prosperity" in that region and raised a hue and cry against the "New Piedmont" project. Following the first Ukrainian immigrants — Ivan Pylypiw and Basil Eleniak, whose arrival in Canada was officially registered in 1891, seven percent of the Galician populace followed suit at the turn of the 20th century, settling in various parts of the world.

Controversies such as these should be weighed on the scales bearing answers to the question *Cui bono*? Whose interests did that process serve? These answers are obvious: the proclamation of Galicia as a "Ukrainian Piedmont" could only benefit the Hapsburg Empire and the German imperialists, in that it "substantiated" the claims concerning the extension of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy eastward at the expense of the *Naddnipryanska Ukraina* (Ukrainian territories beyond the Dnieper) and also the German imperialists' annexation of the Slavic peoples there. The tale about a "Galician Piedmont" was something the Austro-Hungarian imperialists needed to lessen the national affiliation the Galician population felt toward their fellow Ukrainians living further east and to stifle their desire to reunite all the Ukrainian lands within a single state free from political and national oppression.

To this end, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists proved an organized pack of fast-guessing, effective aides in the service of the Austro-Hungarian as well as the German monarchy. They tried to use the beginning of the First World War for their own selfish ends, intending to play on the aspirations of the masses then suffering the loss of their dear ones, to curry favor with the occupiers, possibly to claw their way up a couple more rungs on the political ladder, oblivious of the trail of human blood they were leaving in their wake. On August 4, 1914, three days after Germany declared war on Russia, the leaders of the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine (Ukr. abbr., SVU) in Lviv came out with an appeal — a pharisai-

cal message addressed to the German nation:

"We are appealing to the German Emperor, the German allied princes, and the German people, with this urgent and heartfelt request: please free us from this oppressive yoke which has borne down on us for so many years. Help us attain independence as a separate state. Only by creating an independent Ukrainian Kingdom will Germany finally rid herself of the Great Russian hazard. There exists no difference between Germany and the Ukraine. On the contrary, the Ukraine will have to turn to German reason and to German capitalists for her development, and both will find in her a vast fruitful field for their endeavors."

The above message is in keeping with the highest standards of the "most loyal" communications between a subject and his sovereign (its style has been unswervingly intrinsic to all the "political acts" of the nationalists — traitors to the Ukrainian people, since the very inception of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism). During WWI, the nationalists supplied secret agents and saboteurs to German and Austrian intelligence. They also lent a hand in the subversive efforts to indoctrinate Ukrainian POW's. Although more than 100,000 Galician inmates of the Austro-Hungarian concentration camps perished, while almost 60,000 victims were executed on orders from the Imperial military authorities, representatives of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie C. Levitsky and Baron Vasylko swore allegiance to Archduke Friedrich, Commander of the Austrian Field Army:

"In this most difficult and trying hour,

You may rest assured that we remain sincerely loyal to the Emperor and the State."

On November 5, 1916, Francis Joseph I of Austria and Wilhelm II of Germany endorsed a joint declaration whereby the territories previously controlled by Russia were to become a buffer state most closely linked with the "central countries of the German-Austrian bloc." The day before, Francis Joseph I had signed a decree under which Galicia would receive a "special status" after the war which would provide for Galicia's separation from the Ukraine, so the former could become the *terra firma*, upon which to assert the supremacy of the Polish Kingdom. Some 25 years later, history repeated itself; by an autocratic decree, Hitler made Eastern Galicia part of the Third Reich, granting it the status of a "district" within the *Generalgouvernement*. Set up in 1939 and incorporating a sector of the Polish territory, its center was Cracow. On August 1, 1941, Governor-General Hans Frank assumed formal control of that region, then called the "Fifth District of Galicia."

So much for the "Ukrainian Piedmont," the nationalist standard of "prosperity" and "independence." Naturally, the only reason the Nazis had anything to do with this hypocritical notion was because they regarded it as yet another means of implementing their expansionist plans in the east.

As for their actual goals, including the Ukrainian genocide program, whereby the remaining populace would be turned into servants of the German colonizers, the Nazi occupiers started by cutting up the Ukraine, slicing her territory

into five chunks and isolating them from one another. On August 19, 1941, Rumania was given possession of the "Generalgouvernement" of *Transnistria* with its center in Odessa. It also received Northern Bukovina and Izmail Region. Nazi Germany presented its Hungarian satellite with the Transcarpathian *(Zakarpatska)* Ukraine. On August 20, 1941, a territory of 339,200 sq. km. was included in the *Reichskommissariat* of the Ukraine, complete with the southern districts of Brest, Pinsk and Polissya administrative regions in Byelorussia. Chernihiv, Sumy, Kharkiv, Luhansk and Donetsk regions became part of what was termed a "front-line zone," placed under the direct command of the Wehrmacht.

According to the *Bericht*, an official Nazi periodical, late in 1941, at a dinner given by Adolf Hitler, Erich Koch, *Gauleiter* of the *Reichskommissariat* of the Ukraine, completely shared the Führer's idea that the "free Ukraine" project was absolutely unacceptable, and that it would be necessary to destroy large (Ukrainian) cities and industries to insure the "solidity of German rule in Russia." In the course of this exchange of ideas, the Nazi hierarchs spoke against the reopening, in Kiev, of the university which had been founded more than a century earlier. Instead, 180 concentration camps and other death centers were set up in the Ukraine to implement Hitler's maniacal idea of "exterminating the Slavic peoples — Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians" (this was precisely how the Führer outlined his intentions in his book *Mein Kampf*).

The Second World War brought the Ukraine tremendous losses and ruin. The Nazis turned into rubble practically all of her towns and villages, leaving more than 10 million homeless. The occupiers destroyed or put out of working order 16.5 thousand industrial enterprises and some 400 mines in the Donets Coal Basin (the Donbas). Twelve million tons of farm products, tens of millions of head of cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, etc., were shipped to the Third Reich. The Ukraine's national economy suffered damage to the tune of 285,000 million rubles (in prewar prices).

However, the greatest losses were inflicted on the Ukraine by the aggressors in terms that cannot be fully estimated statistically: 4.5 million residents of the Ukraine died as a result of the Nazi reign of terror, and over 2 million more were shipped off to Germany as slave laborers. In Lviv alone (the Nazis made this ancient Ukrainian city the center of the *Distrikt Galizien*) more than 150,000 persons were massacred.

II. DENYING THEIR SS PAST

Mykola Kapustyansky, who had been promoted to general for his active involvement in the counterrevolutionary pogrom actions during the Civil War in Russia (1918-1920), thus commented on the reasons behind the formation of the SS Halychyna Division in the nationalist magazine *Samostiina Ukraina* [No. 7(161), July 1962]:

"In the winter of 1942, as well as in the spring of 1943, the formidable, powerful offensive of the Axis countries came to a halt in almost all theaters of war in Europe, Africa and the Far East, on the seas and in the air; what was more, the initiative had been snatched from their hands... Without a doubt, the Germans suffered their worst losses from November 1942 to February 1943, in the course of heroic, pitched battles near Stalingrad against the Red Army which proved especially staunch and desperately daring... On February 2, 1943, the glorious 6th Army of Gen. Paulus and the 4th Panzer Army, exhausted and drained, laid down their arms. 91,000 men were taken prisoner, and a staggering amount of materiel was lost. At different stages of those combat operations, five armies were defeated, of which two were from Rumania, as well as a number of military formations. The Wehrmacht thus suffered an extremely painful fiasco which was strategic, political and psychological in nature...

"Following the victory at Stalingrad, the Red Army launched an offensive along the whole front, concentrating its main efforts on the Ukraine. The latter was something Hitler refused to part with for a long time with the stubbornness of the devil not wanting to hear about losing the soul of a sinner. The area became a scene of crucial competition."

Naturally, one could quote from far more prestigious sources to illustrate the military and political situation Nazi Germany was in before 1943. The above excerpt, however, is a typical example of how the nationalists saw the situation in 1943, particularly Mykola Kapustyansky

who was directly involved in setting up the SS Halychyna Division.

After pointing out the painful setback Nazi Germany suffered with the defeat in the Battle of Stalingrad, he proceeds to relate the attempts the German Nazis made to find reserves to compensate for their losses at the front.

"As a result," Kapustyansky writes, "Dr. Wächter, the Galician Governor, suggested to Dr. Kubijovych, Professor and Chairman of the 'Ukrainian Central Committee,' that a Ukrainian combat formation be created. That suggestion was made in a rather categorical form."

The remarkable thing is that the suggestion in question came from Herr Otto Wächter, Governor of the District of Galicia, and that it was made, in Kapustyansky's own words, "in a rather categorical form." In other words, the "suggestion" was definitely an *order*.

Now let us see what Volodymyr Kubijovych, former Chairman of the "Ukrainian Central Committee" (set up in Cracow in 1940 by members of the "government" of Hans Frank), has to say on this. The following are excerpts from his article "Why Was the 14th Infantry *Waffen SS* Halychyna Division Created?":

"At the beginning of the German-Soviet war, Prof. V. Kubijovych, as a representative of the Ukrainians in the *General Gubernia* *, contacted Governor General H. Frank on July 7, 1941, requesting permission to organize separate military formations manned by Ukrainians living in the G. G.**, to provide reinforcements for

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* and ** — both signify the aforementioned *Generalgouvernement*

the Ukrainian National Army which, in the opinion of the Ukrainians, was to rise in the Ukraine. At the same time, Prof. V. Kubijovych noted in his message that, should the organization of such formations meet with difficulties, he would agree to the organization of these Ukrainian formations under the auspices of the German Armed Forces.

"After the inclusion of Galicia in the G. G., the *Ukrainska Natsionalna Rada* (Ukrainian National Council) was convened in Lviv. On August 29, 1941, its representatives sent a petition to the General Government in which, among other things, they asked for permission to organize Ukrainian combat formations under joint German-Ukrainian command. The Ukrainian National Council received no response to that memorandum. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian lands were occupied by German units, and the participation of Ukrainians in paramilitary and combat formations proper received considerable impetus in Galicia. In some cases, however, Ukrainians were recruited into certain *Waffen SS* formations, which was done without reaching a prior understanding with the Ukrainian authorities...

"In 1943, when front-line developments gave reason to believe that the matter of forming a larger combat unit would become more urgent, Prof. V. Kubijovych requested (8.3.1943) that H. Frank take steps in promoting the creation of a volunteer Ukrainian combat formation on G. G. territory to wage a joint struggle against the Bolsheviks... Following several conversations Prof. V. Kubijovych had with Dr. Wächter

and Dr. Bauer,* in March 1943, Wächter considered that the matter of organizing a military unit on the territory of Galicia had advanced far enough to be discussed in Berlin. He had several talks with Berger, head of the *SS-Hauptamt* (whose jurisdiction extended to foreign national formations within the *Waffen SS*) and with Himmler. In March he received generally-worded permission to take the first steps in organizing a military formation of Ukrainians.

"April 13, 1943. In another, longer conversation with Governor-General Wächter, Prof. V. Kubijovych expressed the desire of the organized Ukrainian citizens to struggle against the Bolsheviks along with the Germans...

"It was clear to everybody that if it came down to organizing a 14th Inf. Halychyna Division, the Germans were apparently a dead duck. However, the Germans' losing the war was one thing, and the Bolsheviks' winning it was something altogether different, because some hopes for a reconciliation between the Allies and Germans against the Soviet Union had appeared."

This is what the situation looked like in the interpretation of Kapustyansky and Kubijovych. The former stresses that Wächter's instruction concerning the creation of the SS Halychyna Division was put in a "rather categorical form" and the latter takes responsibility for the initiative to organize a "Ukrainian combat formation" as part of the German Nazi troops.

---

* Otto Bauer — Deputy Governor and "Chief of the Government" of the District of Galicia, killed February 9, 1944, by Soviet intelligence officer Nikolai Kuznetsov

A certain I. B. claims that "the division appeared upon the implacable demand of the Ukrainian youth."

There are hundreds of other as contradictory allegations, but the ones quoted above managed to "get along" quite well in the same issue of *Samostiina Ukraina* (No. 7, 1962).

The last salvos of the war were still being fired when Colonel Smovsky and Yuri Pundyk, an interpreter, representing the SS Halychyna Division, redesignated by a Nazi order (April 24, 1945) as the "First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army" (Ukr. abbr., I UD UNA), got in touch with the command of a US division in Salzburg (Austria) and on May 8, 1945, submitted a written request for capitulation to the Allies.

This utterly false document thus described the reasons and purpose for setting up the SS "I UD UNA":

"The UNA was organized partially using mobilized Ukrainians from Galicia and partially volunteers selected at German forced labor and POW camps.

"Despite the fact that the Ukrainian National Army existed within the German Armed Forces, it was not organized for the purpose of assisting Germany in the war. Those Ukrainian political functionaries who helped organize the Army or sanctioned its existence were governed by these motivations:

"1. From the political and military point of view, the Ukr. N. Army was to be the cornerstone of a Ukrainian Army...

"2. One of the founding principles of the UNA's military and political leadership was the

precondition that the Army would not be used in the struggle against the Western Allies. A secret instruction for the UNA command established that, should UNA or any of its units find themselves at the Western, anti-Ally, front, they would side with the British-American forces and do so with their weapons...

"3. The creation of the UNA made it possible to detach a large number of Ukrainian soldiers from the Western Front.

"4. A considerable portion of the UNA is made up of forced laborers formerly engaged in the German military industries, or of prisoners of war. UNA's formation made it possible to save all these people from famine and tortures at the forced labor camps, while disengaging them from German industry.

"Since the moment of its creation, UNA and its command had a plan ready for the UNA's organized surrender to the Western Allies, whenever such an opportunity presented itself."

Naturally, not one of the above provisions of this "document," meant to whitewash the war-criminal past of SS "I UD UNA," had anything to do with reality.

One could hardly find a more insolent allegation than the one that the SS division in question "was not organized for the purpose of assisting Germany in the war," the more so since the division took part in the war on the side of Nazi Germany. The Ukrainian Nazi newspaper *Lvivski Visti* carried V. Kubijovych's "extremely dedicated" speech (No. 93, 1943) which he delivered on April 28, 1943, at the office of the Galician Governor Herr O. Wächter, on the occasion of the ceremony in honor

of the organization of the SS Division. In that speech — as, incidentally, in the article quoted before (*Samostiina Ukraina*, No. 7, 1962) — V. Kubijovych did not conceal the true goals of the division, but bowed and scraped before the Nazi occupiers: "The kind permission to form an SS infantry division is an award (in itself); at the same time, it is a special honor, whereby we can struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the valorous German soldiers and the SS... We are thankful to the Great Führer of United Europe for allowing us to create a Galician division..."

After Nazi Germany's capitulation and war's end, onetime SS men from the Halychyna Division came out with a basketful of tales to prove that the division had no connection with the SS, that it had discharged no punitive functions, and that it had almost acted against the interests of the Third Reich and its Wehrmacht units. By way of example, one of the diligent assistants of the Nazi SS men making up the Halychyna Division, Joseph Slipij, then a cardinal, in Rome, on April 15, 1983, came up with "A Word" — a hypocritical message honoring the occasion of the division's anniversary. So far as this patriarch of the Greek Catholic Church was concerned, the division was no longer an SS unit but a "Ukrainian Galician Division" and a perfectly innocent "means of self-defense." Counting on the shortness of human memory, Slipij hypocritically claims that the division's "goal was not to build a 'new Europe,' or to serve a new master." And this from Cardinal Slipij, the same Slipij who 40 years earlier had conducted a solemn archpriest's serv-

ice in honor of the proclamation of the *Waffen SS Division "Galizien,"* who had welcomed the division's godfather, Herr Otto Wächter, Governor of the District of Galicia, at the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv.

The Rt. Rev. Joseph Slipij concluded his "Word" by urging the faithful to learn more from the "great days of our history." He even quoted from the 143rd Psalm of David: *"I recalled the days of old and learned from all Thy deeds."* Well, this quotation struck me as rather peculiar, so I looked it up in the Bible. Here is what I found: "5. *I remember the days of old; I mediate on all Thy works; I muse on the work of Thy hands.*" Obviously, the words of David did not tally with Cardinal Slipij's appeal to follow historical examples, particularly an example from the activities of the SS. David reminds one of the necessity of analyzing past events, thinking of what they have led to, and pondering present-day developments and actions, lest the horrible picture drawn in that same Psalm 143 — and, incidentally, reminiscent of the period of Nazi violence — be repeated. That morbid picture is particularly reminiscent of the deeds of the SS Halychyna Division. The Bible reads: "3. *For the enemy hath persecuted my soul; he hath smitten my life down to the ground; he hath made me to dwell in darkness, as those that have been long dead.*"

III. CREATORS OF THE DIVISION

Ukrainian nationalists — former participants in the *Waffen SS* and their successors — take advantage of the lack of information, and in some cases, of the misinformation given to the present generation of Ukrainians living abroad. The setting up of the Halychyna Division is taken separately, snatched out of the context of the past events of WWII, and above all, is rather freely interpreted, being alternately presented by the nationalists as an almost pure act of creating a "national army."

Volodymyr Kubijovych, Chairman of the so-called Ukrainian Central Committee, formerly an agent of the Abwehr, claims that by right, the initiative of forming a Ukrainian combat unit as part of the Wehrmacht, the Nazi Army, belongs to him. It was he who, on July 7, 1941, asked Governor General Hans Frank to okay the organization of separate combat units composed of Ukrainians living in Galicia. He did so "on behalf of the Ukrainian people" which had never authorized him to take any such action.

Whether this was really an "independent" initiative on the part of Kubijovych, is seen from the following testimony by Colonel Alfred Bisanz of the Abwehr: "Kubijovych's Ukrainian Central Committee was created by the Abwehr in Cracow in 1940. From the first day of its existence, it was directly supervised by the intelligence body of *Abwehrstelle-Krakau*, headed by Major von Deml. As an assistant to the head of the Department, I was charged with directing UCC activity. Without the *Abwehrstelle's*

permission and my personal clearance, Kubijovych had no right to include any person in the committee or take any action..."

No comment necessary.

Determined at all costs to find a way to go down in history, General Kapustyansky maintains in his book *History of the Ukrainian Host* (Winnipeg, 1953) that, basically, the idea of creating a "Ukrainian army" belongs to him: "The General Council of Combatants, set up in Cracow in 1941, due to steps taken by General M. Kapustyansky and Colonel Sushko,* came out with the concept of establishing a Ukrainian national army as an ally. The stagnant German command rejected this helpful proposition."

Nor did Andrew Melnyk, the political superior of Kubijovych, and number one in the OUN command, intend to let the laurels slip out of his hands. He even managed to submit his own petition to the Nazi elite 24 hours earlier than V. Kubijovych.

A summary of events in the Nazi-occupied territory of the USSR (No. 15, July 7, 1941), compiled by the Security Police Department and the SD in Berlin, contains a photo copy of A. Melnyk's letter, dated July 6, 1941, addressed to the top Nazi brass, in which he asks for a positive response to the question of setting up a Ukrainian combat unit to be used in the interests of Germany, so it could act jointly

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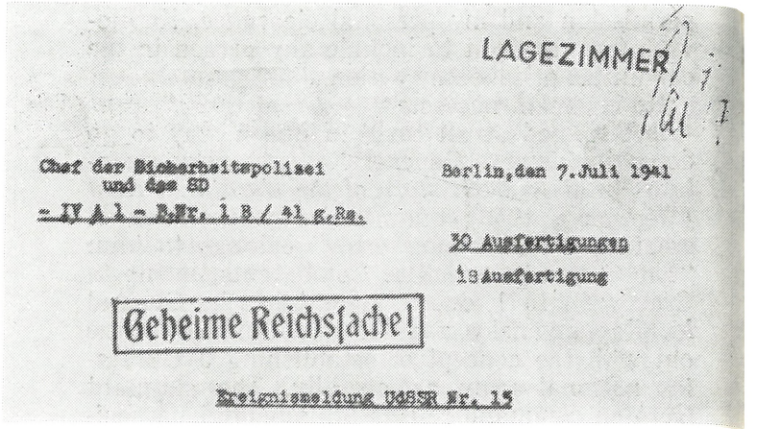
* Roman Sushko — a member of the OUN leadership, head of the Intelligence Department. As an OUN functionary, he attended a meeting of the SS Halychyna Division Military Council in April 1943


LAGEZIMMER

Chef der Sicherheitspolizei
und des SD

Berlin, den 7. Juli 1941

- IV A 1 - B.Fr. 1 B / 41 g.Rs.

30 Ausfertigungen
13 Ausfertigung

Geheime Reichssache!

Ereignismeldung UdSSR Nr. 15

Melnyk's letter to the leaders of the Reich

with the "legions of Europe, side by side with... the German Wehrmacht."

A. Melnyk's "initiative," however, did not surpass the limits of his conduct as an agent of the Abwehr. His letter was conveyed through the *Abwehrstelle-II* in Cracow (*"dürch Abwehrstelle II Krakau"*). Even more so, this document was sent on its way through bureaucratic channels only after having been okayed by Colonel A. Bisanz of the Abwehr who ranked as an "advisor on Ukrainian matters to the administration of the *Generalgouvernement*," whose recommendations are shown at the end of the letter signed by Andrew Melnyk.

Since the said letter, thoroughly checked and edited at the Abwehr HQ, was to reach an

Oberst a.D. M e l n y k hat am 6.7.1941 folgendes Schreiben über OKW an das Führerhauptquartier ge - richtet:

" An den Führer des Deutschen Volkes und Oberst en Befehlshaber der Deutschen Wehrmacht - Führerhauptquartier - über OKW Berlin durch Abwehrstelle II Krakau.

gen Wunsches. Die Aufstellung einer Kampfgruppe im Verbande der Deutschen Wehrmacht halte ich insbesondere auch aus politischen Gründen im Interesse einer leichteren Bewältigung der kommenden großen Aufgaben und einer rascheren Eingliederung in die Neuordnung Europas für dringend erforderlich.

A. B i e n i a s, Oberst a.D. und Referent für ukrainische Fragen in der Regierung des Gen. Gouv."

auch wir, Schulter an Schulter mit unseren Befreiern, der deutschen Wehrmacht, mitmarschieren zu dürfen und uns zu diesem Zweck die Aufstellung einer ukrainischen Kampfformation zu ermöglichen.

Krakau, den 6.7.1941 - A. Melnyk, Oberst a.D.

extremely high level of authority, being addressed to the *Führerhauptquartier*, Adolf Hitler's office, its actual author thought it prudent to supplement Melnyk's signature with those of other agents of the Abwehr — generals M. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko and M. Kapustyansky; colonels R. Sushko, H. Stefaniw and P. Dyachenko, and *Hauptmann* M. Khronowiat. Their activities during the war were completely subordinated to the interests of Nazi Germany. Later, Bisanz, Dyachenko and Khronowiat became directly involved in the organization of the SS Halychyna Division and its command.

These members of Melnyk's OUN support their claims to the "initiative" in the establishment of the division by an additional fact. On October 5, 1941, Mykola Velychkivsky, Chairman of the Ukrainian National Committee (set up early during the occupation of Kiev), acted on behalf of Andrew Melnyk when he addressed a telegram to Hitler thanking him for the "liberation." After that, he came out with a declaration in which he suggested that a "Ukrainian National Army" be created without delay to operate jointly with the forces of Nazi Germany. The telegram was addressed to Adolf Hitler, and Velychkivsky handed it over to Dr. Hans Koch, a representative of the Abwehr. Previously, this suggestion had been cleared with the German occupation authorities concerned.

Such letters, telegrams and declarations of the Ukrainian nationalists were meant to produce a certain propaganda effect. Nothing more than that.

In the first months of the war against the Soviet Union, the activities of the Abwehr were

markedly intensive in the field of propaganda, whereby different "initiatives" were engineered "downstairs," particularly those concerning the setting up of Ukrainian combat units within Germany's Wehrmacht. With time, however, these stratagems became the prerogative of the SS. Finally, it was decided that the Halychyna Division would be established as part of the *Waffen SS*, one of those "foreign" divisions of the Nazi SS, whose organization and use was a far-reaching and pre-planned action of the Third Reich, a project immune to all appeals for alterations sent in by the Ukrainian nationalists.

Colonel Bisanz of the Abwehr, head of the Military Council of the SS Halychyna Division, subsequently explained that the division had been formed due to the efforts of *SS Gruppenführer* Berger, the man in charge of the *SS Hauptamt* who, according to V. Kubijovych, supervised the "foreign national formations within the *Waffen SS*."

Heinrich Himmler was the author of a plan envisaging the creation of "joint European troops of the SS." Contrary to the opinion — which had by then gained quite some ground in the West — that Hitler was not especially enthusiastic over ideas such as those pertaining to the formation of "non-Aryan" Wehrmacht or SS units, it was with the Führer's knowledge and consent that in the fall of 1941, the Nazis began to lure the credulous to enlist in the *Waffen SS* contingents in the occupied countries whose populations could be thought of as belonging to "Nordic" stock and to recruit prisoners-of-war and local residents in the Nazi-occupied Soviet

territories. After the Battle of Stalingrad, the situation at the Eastern Front was gravely complicated for Nazi Germany. The latter proceeded to extend her SS contingents, equipping new divisions made up of collaborators from the seized areas, including the SS Halychyna Division.

Naturally, Himmler had previously studied the contingencies and worked out appropriate recommendations. Addressing the division brass hats on May 17, 1944, the SS Reichsführer admitted: "I considered it a matter of great importance, so I had to know all the pros and cons in advance... You must understand this correctly; when an SS division is formed and placed under the command of the SS Reichsführer, a stain on the honor of such a division would also smear the glory of thousands, tens of thousands of fallen SS men... When I asked your governor whether the men were decent and loyal, he, a veteran SS officer himself, replied in a manner becoming an SS man. 'Reichsführer,' he said, 'you can trust these decent farming people.' I then said yes and had my decision put into practice."

Forming and commanding such divisions was the exclusive privilege of the SS. The nationalists knew this only too well. K. Zelenko wrote in the magazine *Samostiina Ukraina* (No. 2, 1973): "The division was one of the nineteen SS divisions made up of foreigners. In 1943, it was generally known that the *Waffen SS*, unlike the Wehrmacht, was against any independence or even autonomy for such divisions. All of them were completely under the control of Heinrich Himmler — at all of the middle and

higher steps of the command ladder, and often even at the lowest ones, there stood German SS men."

With all this power in the hands of the SS and Himmler, no "initiatives" or spontaneous actions would have been tolerated by the occupation authorities, even less so those on the part of all those "cannon fodder" candidates. All matters concerning the SS and their troops had to be cleared with Himmler and, following his consent, with other SS officers under him. And so the letters and appeals of Kubijovych, Melnyk and other Nazi collaborators and agents broke the surface and were published only when and where such material was needed by the Gestapo, the SD security service, the SS, and their chief, Heinrich Himmler.

At present, OUN people describe their service in the SS Halychyna Division as though this shameful act were almost an exploit, an act of heroism to the detriment of the Third Reich, as though those collaborators were "far-sighted" and cleverly led on the Nazis by forming a combat unit to struggle against the Soviet Union and Germany alike. Statements made by Kubijovych and quoted previously, plus other such nationalist writings, are misleading, in that there is a continuous juggling with terms such as the "Ukrainian National Army," a "volunteer Ukrainian combat formation," and some "joint German-Ukrainian command." Their alleged "problems" in pushing through the idea of the division, in fighting the red tape, in trying to persuade officials to grant some "special privileges" for its men would have held water if the Galician Division had been the only one of

its kind, if there hadn't been a set Nazi practice of forming and using other such SS units composed of non-German residents of occupied countries, and if, in every such case, everything had not been decided upon, arranged for and sent, in due time, down the command ladder, to the Ukrainian Central Committee executors, as an order in what Kubijovych describes as a "rather categorical form."

But why did Kubijovych, Melnyk and other German agents force an open door? Their provocative pharisaic letters and appeals could not, and did not, have any effect on the decisions of the Nazi command. As in so many other cases, those decisions belonged entirely to Hitler's propaganda and were to ensure the resolutions passed by the Führer and the SS Reichsführer. They were meant to make the credulous believe there was "initiative" from the "lower strata."

These letters and appeals were fig leaves concealing the actual targets and actions of the Nazis which, besides everything else, were supposed to help procure volunteers for the SS contingents, and to promote recruitment to the SS Halychyna Division. The fact remains, however, that such broadly advertised "initiative from the lower strata" was a vivid example of the basest possible venality on the part of the turncoats who wrote or signed these letters and appeals.

Kubijovych lists a number of appeals of the Ukrainian nationalists in which they request from the Nazi occupation authorities that they be allowed to create "Ukrainian combat formations" to "struggle against the Bolsheviks along

with the Germans." Nazi top brass, *Gauleiters* and *Reichsministers* Ribbentrop, Rosenberg, and even Hitler received such petitions on July 6 and 7, August 29, October 5 and December 4 and 9, 1941; on January 14, June 22, 1942, and on March 8 and April 3, 1943. These are, of course, far from all the criminal acts whereby the nationalists suggested to the Nazis that they use young Ukrainians as cannon fodder.

Another such "letter of initiative" appeared on February 6, 1943. It was addressed to General Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel and was signed by Andrew Melnyk, then head of the OUN *Provid* (leadership), who rather ambitiously identified himself in that disgraceful petition as "Chief of the Ukrainian nationalists." Indeed, Melnyk and other traitors like him were quite fond of using impressive titles à la Hitler, as each was eager to bask in the role of a "leader" or even Führer.

Below are excerpts from that letter.

"C/O *Herr Feldmarschall* Keitel,

Chief of the Supreme General Command of the Armed Forces in Berlin...

"The Ukrainian people are in such a condition that in spite of the great disappointment experienced over the past two years, they can still serve as a full-fledged ally of Germany in her struggle against Moscow... The time has come, it seems, to make the Ukraine part of the Anti-Bolshevik Front. To accomplish this goal, a battle-worthy Ukrainian host must be formed... Unfortunately, quite a few opportunities have been missed in the course of the past two years. In order to make up for them, this question should be placed on a practical basis, and this

should be done immediately, without wasting any time at all. We hope that the problem of organizing a Ukrainian military force in the form described herein, and which form is, in our opinion, the only valid one, will be properly comprehended by you, *Herr Generalfeldmarschall*, and that you will take a personal interest in this matter. The Ukrainian administrative circles, especially the military ones, are prepared to participate in resolving this question to which we attach exceptional importance in summing up the ongoing fight against Moscow, and for the sake of which we are ready to place ourselves at the disposal of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces.

"Berlin, February 6, 1943.
Andrew Melnyk, Chief of the
Ukrainian Nationalists."

This readiness to "place ourselves at the disposal of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces" of Nazi Germany expresses the essence of both the "initiative from the lower strata" and the future Ukrainian SS combat formation.

Who is who

ANDREW MELNYK

Who is Andrew Melnyk, the man identifying himself as "Chief of the Ukrainian Nationalists"? Was he really capable of showing any initiative, of taking any steps of his own?

Originally an officer of the Austro-Hungarian Army, he was Colonel of the Ukrainian *Sichovi*

Strilci (Riflemen of the Sich) which was part of that army. In January 1918, along with Colonel Konowaletz, under the command of the chief pogrom organizer Simon Petlura, Melnyk carried out a harsh punitive operation against the workers and soldiers of Kiev who had rebelled against the counterrevolutionary bourgeois *Tsentralna Rada* (Central Council).

An agent on the payroll of several foreign intelligence bodies, Melnyk was on especially close cooperating terms with the German Abwehr. Officers of its Second Department (Subversion), General Erwin Lachousen and his second-in-command, Colonel Erwin Schtolze, who had recruited Melnyk, gave him the code name *Consul One*. Facts about Melnyk-*Consul One*'s traitorous activities were made public knowledge by the testimonies of E. Schtolze as a witness for the prosecution at the Nuremberg Trials of major Nazi war criminals.

In 1938, German intelligence placed Melnyk at the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Before that, the Germans removed the obstacle in the person of OUN's former chief, Konowaletz. In general, Nazi intelligence often and willingly applied what they called the "squeezed-out lemon" tactic; an agent, after all his resources and possibilities had been exhausted, was simply kicked out and thrown away like a squeezed-out lemon, to be replaced by a new one. Incidentally, Konowaletz was given the code name *Consul One*, too. Apparently, the code name must have been a spare one, reserved for all the OUN "leaders." That this was really so is seen from the fact that the alias *Consul Two* was used by the

Abwehr to identify the next nationalist "leader" — Stephen Bandera, as well as Richard Jary, Captain of the Austrian Army, subsequently a colonel and chief of staff at the OUN's Supreme HQ, through whom the OUN elite maintained direct liaison with the Abwehr, Gestapo and other special agencies of Nazi Germany. Jary's receiving the code name *Consul* is directly linked with the fact that back in the 1930s his candidature was considered for the post of the Organization's "führer."

* * *

Considering everything stated above, one is hardly likely to take seriously the possibility of any "initiative" on the part of the top OUN figures, particularly on that of Melnyk (alias *Consul One*), unless such an initiative was previously agreed upon with — or, rather, dictated by — the intelligence agencies of Nazi Germany and other countries with which OUN was and is still most closely in touch.

There is a surprising coincidence in time between the letter Andrew Melnyk sent to Field Marshal Keitel and the final debacle of the German military grouping of 330,000 at Stalingrad. On February 2, 1943, the surviving Nazi forces there thought it best to lay down their arms. Army Group Commander, General Field Marshal Paulus also surrendered to the Soviet troops. Then, on February 6 of that same year, Melnyk addressed Keitel, Chief of Staff of the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, Hitler's closest comrade-in-arms, with what he believed was a "salutary proposition," whereby the Nazi top

military command was to receive fresh cannon fodder — nationalist-sired Ukrainian combat units. Such an "initiative" obviously stemmed from Nazi Germany's needs, and the appeal of the OUN "chief" was engineered as an "initiative" from the "Ukrainian circles" (as Melnyk put it himself) in setting up military units composed of Ukrainians, while having at least a small number of the populace enlist in them. All this looked very much like yet another propaganda stunt a là Nazi Minister Dr. Goebbels, which it actually was.

A noted French researcher of Nazi war criminals and their accomplices, Alain Guérin, in his book *Le Général Gris* (Paris, 1968) quotes from *Politics of the Russian Emigration* by Boris Dvinov of the US REND Corporation that the "Vlassov (Wlassoff) movement" * evolved not due to the initiative of its leaders but was the result of long-existing Nazi plans for psychological warfare against Russia. The idea of setting up, for propaganda purposes, a serious political organization, composed of Russians, continues Guérin, was basically sired by Nazi Propaganda Minister Dr. Goebbels.

The above statement makes it clear that Nazi Germany had long developed and applied similar ways of reaching its targets, while ensuring an adequate propaganda cover.

* A. Vlassov, formerly Lieutenant General of the Red Army. In July 1942, he gave himself up to the Nazis. Later that same year, headed the pro-Nazi Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, on whose behalf the creation of the "Russian Army" was proclaimed in 1943. Vlassov was sentenced to death by hanging (1946) by the Military Board of the USSR Supreme Court. The verdict was carried out on August 1, 1946.

IV. PROCLAMATION OF THE "ACT OF APRIL 28, 1943"

Former SS men and their accomplices, disregarding apparent and irrefutable facts, persist in mocking history, claiming that the "creation of the Ukrainian Division was one of the many facets of the Ukrainian liberation movement, directed... against Russia and Germany."

While it is true that they are unable to twist the historical truth, their continuous boisterous propaganda of the "anti-German" orientation and activities of the SS Halychyna Division leads the rising generation of the Ukrainians currently living overseas astray. Those young people did not witness the misinterpreted events of the war, so they are not aware of its bitter realities. "Military expert" Korduba, a former combatant of the division, is to be credited for having contributed tangibly to the chronicles of the *Waffen SS Division "Galizien,"* specifically to glorifying its non-existent "feats of arms." However, he must have had a flash of sober-mindedness in him when he wrote in the nationalist magazine *Samostiina Ukraina* (No. 4, Chicago, 1963), honoring the division's 20th anniversary: "The concept of the formation of the Halychyna Division did not justify itself in a single instance; it inflicted a great deal of harm on the Ukrainian people... We should stop, once and for all, hustling Ukrainian blood in the name of interests that are alien to us."

Much water has since run under the proverbial bridge. Still, the Ukrainian nationalists are doing their utmost to make the most of just this shameful sort of trading. They are deter-

mined to instigate another world war, this time a nuclear holocaust, which would trigger off the destruction of nations. The nationalists continue to poison the minds of young Ukrainians abroad, as well as people born in Canada, the US and elsewhere, with Nazi tenets.

The "military resolutions" of the "Second Grand Assembly of Ukrainian Nationalists," held under the touching sponsorship of the Abwehr and the Gestapo of Nazi Germany (April 1941), some two months before the Third Reich treacherously attacked and invaded the Soviet Union, read as follows:

"The essence of the ideological thrust of the great ideas of Ukrainian Nationalism, as well as the whole dynamic force of the Ukrainian Revolution, will find their implementation in the Ukrainian Army." Experience testifies that what the nationalists actually had in mind was not so much the creation of an army but the setting up of a combat formation which the Nazis would arm and equip, provided they trusted such a unit enough to do so.

The nationalist "movement" served as a master key for the occupiers of the Ukraine, and the "great ideas" concerning the organization of a "Ukrainian Army" were finally implemented in the appearance of the punitive Ukrainian Nazi battalions *Nachtigall* and *Roland*, as well as in what became known as the "Ukrainian Auxiliary Police," plus the subversive, terroristic Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukr. abbr., UPA — *Ukrainska Povstanska Armiya*). All these combat units were organized under the direct supervision and most rigid control of the Nazis. The latter supplied them the required

materiel and rations, aiming their spearhead against Soviet soldiers, partisans and patriots in the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other countries which had risen up in arms against the Nazi German occupiers.

The "Act" proclaiming the formation of the SS Halychyna Division was made public on April 28, 1943, in Lviv — and, almost simultaneously, in all the major towns of the District of Galicia. The nationalists have since considered this date the first page in the division's annals. It is also true, however, that the decision of the Nazi command to organize an SS division made up of residents of Galicia, then part of the Third Reich, had been reached earlier, and that until late in April, unadvertised preparations went on, resulting in the ceremony of proclaiming that "Act." Proof of this is supplied by nationalists who witnessed the big performance. Vasyl Yashan, for example, wrote in *Visti Kombatanta* (No. 5-6, 1968): "In February and March of 1943, Stanislaviv * began to receive vague news that there were plans to set up a Ukrainian military unit. Only on April 19, 1943, did a member of the Ukrainian District Committee who had come from the District in Lviv inform the departments of the Association of Communities under the District Council of Elders that the Halychyna Division would definitely be formed. The next day, the UDC (Ukrainian District Committee) hosted an assembly of former Ukrainian officers (6.30 p. m.)

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* Stanislaviv (also known as Stanislav), currently the city of Ivano-Frankivsk in the Ukrainian SSR

attended by a total of some 70 persons. Professor Mykola Lepkyi, UDC Chairman, offered the following explanation: at a special conference in Lviv, Dr. Otto Wächter, head of the administration of the District of Galicia, had made it known that Hitler had given him permission to create a Ukrainian, Galician, military unit, a division... It would consist of volunteers — Ukrainians between 20 and 25 years old. It would be a motorized-cavalry division. A Military Council in Lviv was already attending to the matter..."

The preparatory stage must have taken somewhat longer, but the proclamation of the Act by which the SS Halychyna Division was formed and the events that followed can serve as a rather graphic example of how Nazi Germany's propaganda machine operated. All these events were extremely publicized by the occupation media.

Radio Lviv, the newspapers *Lvivski Visti* (No. 93), *Stanislavivske Slovo* (No. 18/83), *Holos Pidkarpattya*, the Lviv-centered magazine *Nashi Dni*, and other pro-Nazi publications came out with detailed coverages of the ceremony in which the Act was proclaimed. Despite the propagandistic nature of what was printed, these accounts offered many facts and details the reporters failed to see for what they were at the time, and from which the former SS men and their current successors would love dearly to dissociate themselves.

At the beginning of this chapter, individual nationalists are quoted as saying that the creation of the SS Halychyna Division was allegedly a manifestation of the struggle "against

Станиславів

Український популярний тижневи

ч. 18. (83) Неділя,

СС - Стрілецька

Урочистий акт в уряді

Nazi-controlled *Stanislavivske slovo* announces the "inauguration" of the SS Halychyna Division (May 2, 1943)

Russia and Germany." But if that is so, then it is truly amazing that the journalists who witnessed the ceremony proclaiming the creation of the division described it as a "solemn action on the part of the government of the Galician Governor." Is one expected to believe that the oc-

ЦІНА 30 ГР.

...ьке Слово

для Станиславівщини і Калущини

травня 1943 Рік III.

...ивізія Галичина

...Губернатора Галичини

...рав ГГ. д-ра Льозакера, ген. поліції ...шмана, Провідника УЦК проф. д-ра ... Кубіновича і ген. В. Курмановича ...з ген. Антона Кравса, команданта ...л. II-го Корпусу УГА і команданта ...дтинку Думи у Києві 31-го серпня ...19-го р. наспів лист, в якому ген. ...равс оправдує свою відсутність хви...ною недиспозицією і бажає успіхів ...розпочатому ділі.

До слова приходить Губернатор Га...цької Области д-р О. Вехтер.

край і ми всі нагадуємо собі з обмер...ними вбивствами тисячів галицьких ...дей найкращої крови, як тоді німець...кий вояк приступом взяв місто Львів.

Це населення Галичини, що належить тому до тих нечисленних областей Середньої Европи, які пізнали совєтську владу безпосередньо, зайшло до своє правильне місце. Воно у наслідок безпосереднього пізнання поставилося ясніше та міцніше, як хтось будь інший на ґрунт Европи та боро...

cupation authorities of the *Distrikt Galizien* would mark the setting up of an anti-German division with all manner of festivities? Of course not. This can all be explained by the clumsy attempts of modern nationalist "historians" and "chroniclers" to whitewash their deeds as "creators" of that division and executors of its criminal SS-sponsored operations, even at the cost of deliberately distorting the truth.

Lvivski Visti, Stanislavivske Slovo and other Nazi-controlled Ukrainian periodicals carried detailed accounts of the "festivities" under the conspicuous heading "SS Halychyna Infantry Division" which clearly explained the division's nature and stated whose side it would take.

To the sound of the bugles of a *Lüftwaffe* military band, the account reads, the "festivities" were opened by Dr. Bauer, Deputy to the Governor of the District of Galicia who greeted "all those present — envoys of the Government, the Nazi Party, the Armed Forces, the police, and officers and former ranking servicemen of the Austrian Army and UGA * among them." Greetings were also extended to "Dr. Losacker, Minister of the Interior of the *Generalgouvernement*; General of the Police Katzman; Dr. Volodymyr Kubijovych, Professor, President of the Ukr. Central Committee, and General Victor Kurmanovych."

Remarkably enough, these "greetings" were obviously extended to a pair of non-Aryans — Volodymyr Kubijovych and Victor Kurmanovych. However, Dr. Bauer had no reason for worry; both these characters had sold themselves to the Nazis lock, stock and barrel long before, so that whatever they might have retained of their Ukrainian heritage had been totally erased by their Quisling-like service to their swastika-wearing masters.

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* Ukrainian Galician Army, set up in 1918, from among the Riflemen of the Sich *(Sichovi Strilci)* and other Austro-Hungarian military units. Ceased to exist in 1920

Who is who

VOLODYMYR KUBIJOVYCH

Volodymyr Kubijovych,* formerly an officer of the Ukrainian Galician Army, head of the Ukrainian Central Committee. During WWII, he couldn't take a single step without clearing it first with the *Abwehrstelle-Krakau* (Abwehr HQ in Cracow, Poland), with Colonel Alfred Bisanz in particular. This colonel of Nazi intelligence certainly knew what he was talking about when he testified later that "Kubijovych, being a German agent, systematically filed detailed reports on his work which I conveyed to the German secret service."

So far as Nazi intelligence was concerned, Kubijovych held a rather convenient position; being at the head of UCC, he could, and did, obtain the required data, using the Committee's 27 provincial "Ukrainian Relief Committees," 33 "representatives" and a ramified network of individual informers. Specifically, he could study the conduct of persons in whom Nazi clandestine agencies took a special interest. Kubijovych had enough time to carry out such "delicate" assignments because he served the Germans, and nobody else but them. Trying to follow the Aryan "code" of behavior to a "T," he even walked out on Celina, his non-Aryan wife, in 1941, leaving two daughters aged 12 and 9.

Kubijovych was an outspoken adherent of the Nazi doctrine of geopolitics and operated from

* In various English-language sources his name is also spelled *Kubiyovych* and *Kubijovyč*

a "geopsychological" argumentation of the superiority of some and the inferiority of other nations. A place of note among the "chosen" few he reserved for the nationalist elite. He even went so far as to allege, with utmost seriousness, that the territory of the future Ukraine, ruled by the nationalist *Übermenschen*, should be extended beyond Warsaw in the west, beyond Tbilisi (capital of Soviet Georgia) in the east, and beyond Moscow in the north, stretching almost as far as Leningrad. Kubijovych would gladly have extended the frontiers of his mythical, "supernationalist" Ukraine to the south, except that the border would then have crossed the Black Sea.

After WWII, Volodymyr Kubijovych settled in France. In *Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopaedia* (University of Toronto Press, 1963) which he edited, it is stated (Vol. 1, p. 887-b) that after the Ukrainian Land Committee, headed by C. Pankivsky, merged with the Ukrainian Central Committee, under his, Kubijovych's, chairmanship, UCC became "the only recognized representative of the Ukrainians in the *Generalgouvernement.*"

Impressive, isn't it, being "the only recognized representative" of all the Ukrainians inhabiting that Nazi-sired *Generalgouvernement?* However, if one reminds oneself of the testimonies of Colonel Alfred Bisanz and other witnesses to the criminal endeavors of UCC and Kubijovych, this pompous phraseology begins to fade considerably. What kind of "representation" could there be when people were groaning under the yoke of the Nazis in the occupied countries? There could only be treacherous collabo-

ration with the aggressor, which meant harming the interests of Poles, Ukrainians and others living under the Hitler-engineered *Generalgouvernement.*

As editor-in-chief of the *Entsyklopediya Ukrainoznavstva* (Ukrainian Studies Encyclopedia, Munich — New York, 1949), Kubijovych was forced to admit that the "General Government was actually a kind of German colony whose structure was thoroughly totalitarian." (Vol. I, Book II, p. 580). True, this evaluation was in sharp contrast to his earlier faithful assurances and admiring views on the *Generalgouvernement's* prospects, on its ruler, Hans Frank, and on the Führer Adolf Hitler. Volodymyr Kubijovych, UCC President, agent of the Gestapo and the Abwehr, and veteran Nazi collaborator, made all these views and commentaries public when and whenever he could.

Who is who

VICTOR KURMANOVYCH

Victor Kurmanovych, a "general whose service to the Ukrainian people deserves the highest of praise," whom Dr. Bauer singled out in his opening address, alongside the name of Kubijovych, served as an intelligence officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army, later promoted to Chief of the General Staff of the Ukrainian Galician Army, still later one of the organizers of the Ukrainian Military Organization — Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Together with Konowaletz, OUN's chief, he visited Canada

in the 1930s, where he supervised the campaign for Nazi-indoctrination of the Ukrainian emigres, showing off his general's uniform and affiliation to some "secret service."

Shortly before Konowaletz was killed, he met with Abwehr Colonel Erwin Schtolze at Kurmanovych's apartment in Baden near Vienna (1938). Konowaletz and Kurmanovych had also met in fascist Italy. Needless to say, every such rendezvous, entailing such far-reaching consequences, had to be arranged by an agent held in unquestionable trust by the Abwehr.

During the "honeymoon" period of publicly promoting the Act under which the SS Halychyna Division was formed, word was spread that Kurmanovych would be made first in command. He, therefore, attended the "festivities" on April 28, 1943, as a proverbial "wedding party general."

Still, reality proved much more sobering and prosaic. The Nazis appointed *SS Brigadeführer* Fritz Freitag CO of the SS Halychyna Division, and likewise the other key ranks and positions were filled by Germans. As for Kurmanovych, he had to show a good face, being given the status of Honorary Chairman of what became known as the Division's Military Council *(Vijskova Uprava)*.

The latter was set up as an executive body under the Governor of the District of Galicia to aid him in recruiting additional manpower. The Nazis made Abwehr Colonel Alfred Bisanz chairman of the Military Council. In other words, Kurmanovych's entire previous espionage and subversive activities culminated, quite logically, in his being handed out an "honorary

chairmanship" with the SS Ukrainian Nazi division.

Another thing to be mentioned in this respect is that Kurmanovych represented the OUN (Bandera) faction in the Military Council. Back in 1940, he and Richard Jary — another Nazi agent — had been actively involved in an attempt to place the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stephen Bandera who, according to Nazi secret-service analysts, was the biggest "revolutionist," and who displayed a firmer degree of resolution than Andrew Melnyk, which made the latter a more promising candidate for the OUN presidential post in the ongoing election rat race.

* * *

After Dr. Bauer was through with his brief address opening the "festivities of April 28, 1943," the floor was taken by Herr Otto Wächter, the Nazi-appointed Governor of the District of Galicia.

SS Brigadeführer Otto Wächter ranked with the closest associates of Himmler and Berger, in everything that pertained to the idea of setting up SS "foreign legions." In 1941, after two years of practice as Governor of the District of Cracow, Otto Wächter was transferred to a similar post within the District of Galicia, replacing Karl Ljasch, General of the Police. Wächter had familiarized himself with Galicia back in 1939-1940. At the time, he was on a mission for German intelligence. He was supposed to be on an official visit to Lviv where he would be made one of the responsible

officials to assist the Germans living there in resettling, moving to what had by then taken shape as the Third Reich.

Wächter's stay in Lviv could have enriched him with knowledge about the true history of Galicia (Halychyna), about the actual mood and secret aspirations its populace cherished. Nevertheless, Otto Wächter was a mouthpiece and a diligent executor of Nazi policy, which boiled down to ruthlessly subjugating different peoples. In his address to that "gala assembly," he again voiced the aggressive Nazi thesis that Galicia had belonged to Germany for the past 150 years. Therefore, as Germany's property, Galicia could be disposed of as Adolf Hitler pleased, the more so since he attached special importance to bringing Galicia "back in the lap of Great Germany," whose sovereign he was titled. In particular, Wächter visualized the "Ukrainian Galician populace "... not only as peasants working their fields, as industrial workers, office employees, and policemen, rather than mere tillers or those hired by the German military industrialists; as combatants with weapons in their hands."

"This gala assembly," Wächter pompously declared at the beginning of his speech, "...is an event the consequences of which will add to the history of this region a new, memorable, positive and constructive day, pregnant with future significant results."

Indeed, that day turned out to be quite "pregnant with significant results" for the thousands of Ukrainians who volunteered for the SS division, the results of which made themselves felt in the nearest future. The destinies of those

people were arbitrarily disposed of by Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler. "On the proposal of the SS Reichsführer, the Führer agreed that a (combat) formation of Ukrainian Galician volunteers could be created," Wächter announced in conclusion and read an appeal to the Galician population. Simultaneously with the "gala assembly," this appeal was made public in all points of habitation of the District.

People living in Galicia, as in all the other Nazi-occupied "Eastern territories," rose to wage a resolute struggle against the invaders and their henchmen, against the regular transportation of able-bodied residents for forced labor in Germany and the plundering of public property. Wächter said nothing about this in his speech. He merely declared that "an entire army of Galician men and women working in the German State as tillers and industrial laborers are making bread and weapons for victory," without explaining what means had been used to achieve this.

Apparently, the Nazis saw that making "bread and weapons" wasn't enough to ensure that victory so the SS decided to get some fresh cannon fodder for their battered and screeching war machine. Grandly, Otto Wächter announced that the Führer had "allowed the formation of the *Grenadieren Waffen SS Division 'Galizien.'*"

While urging the Galicians to fight for the "new order in a free and victorious Europe," the appeal was rich in promises, most of which very soon proved false. Among other things, it read:

"Every soldier of this division will receive clothing, money and rations, his family will be provided for on equal terms with (those of) the German soldiers...

"The volunteers, as members of the division, will wear their national insignia."

The next to take the floor after Otto Wächter was Losacker, Minister of the Interior of the *Generalgouvernement.* He read the "Manifesto of the Governor General to the Population of Galicia on the Occasion of the Solemn Act of April 28, 1943."

Governor Hans Frank declared that the time had come to commit the residents of his "General Government" to the "gigantic struggle." In concluding his "Manifesto," Frank called for new "sacrifices" and promised "privileges" for the traitorous "volunteers."

"As a result of your active struggle in the ranks of the German soldiers, against Bolshevism," Frank announced, "you will not only have an opportunity to partake in the undying combat glory of the European peoples, but, also, thanks to your sacrifices, will win and ensure your posterity and yourselves, forevermore, the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of European culture."

Needless to say, the "Manifesto" contained nothing but empty words. Several months later, Hans Frank demonstrated his actual attitude to the population of the occupied territories when he wrote in his diary: "If we win the war one day, I will have nothing against chopping the Poles and Ukrainians, and all the other riff-raff there into bits." Frank saw no reason to conceal his hatred of Ukrainians and Poles, and

with his actual deeds lived up to his reputation as a hangman of these peoples. A major Nazi war criminal, he was tried by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, found guilty and hanged in 1946.

Such were the most important events that took place within the territory ruled by the "Governor of Galicia" on April 28, 1943. Still, prior to the "gala assembly's" dismissal, those present heard the servile thanks of Volodymyr Kubijovych and Mikhailo Khronowiat, head of the Organizational (Recruitment) Department of the Military Council, SS Halychyna Division.

Kubijovych never missed an opportunity to declare the faithfulness of the nationalists to the German Nazis, or to list their merits before the Third Reich. He stated in part:

"When, on the memorable day of June 22, the Führer called on the peoples of Europe to wage a final struggle against Bolshevism, the decision was clear to us.

"This desire (i. e., the one to take part in the armed struggle against Bolshevism, explains Kubijovych) was further the result of our profound conviction that it is not our duty to stay neutral in the (ongoing) great struggle for the construction of a new order in Europe...

"We are grateful that you, Mr. Governor, being the most responsible representative of German authority in Galicia, have conveyed to us words of recognition of our contribution to this cause. What brings us special joy, however, is the news that the highest functionaries of the German State are also aware of our active stand...

"The setting up of a Ukrainian Galician Division as part of the *Waffen SS* means not only an acknowledgement, so far as we are concerned, but also an obligation whereby we must promote this active trend in our collaboration with bodies of the German State, upholding it until the victorious end of the war. Mr. Governor, do please rest assured that we shall live up to this obligation as best we can."

Kubijovych wholeheartedly thanked Wächter "for the initiative on which the Ukrainians of Galicia could be given the opportunity to fight shoulder to shoulder with the heroic German soldiers and the SS combat units." He praised the "Great Führer of United Europe" for his permission to form the SS division.

The last to take the floor, after Kubijovych, was Mikhailo Khronowiat, formerly an officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army and the Ukrainian Galician Army. In 1939, he had left the Western Ukraine for Cracow, using the good offices of the Commission for the Resettlement of German Nationals (that same commission under whose guise SS officer Otto Wächter had conducted espionage work in Lviv). During the Nazi occupation of Western Ukrainian lands, Khronowiat was appointed director of the creameries and dairy factories, and his gratitude to the occupiers knew no bounds. This was the main topic of his speech.

Newspaper reports have it that, after Khronowiat was through with his presentation, declaring that "We shall now march side by side against our common enemy, and will fight until our ultimate victory," Bauer, the meeting chairman, "saluted the Führer, which was repeated

three times by those present, according to tradition."

On this note, the "gala assembly" was adjourned.

V. THE UNIATE CHURCH — ANOTHER NAZI AGENCY

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and their shepherds from the Uniate Greek Catholic Church currently try to prove that they fought on "two fronts" during WWII — against both the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. As regards their collaboration with the Wehrmacht and Nazi-controlled civilian authorities, it was, allegedly, merely a survival tactic under the harsh occupation regime. At the same time, available documents testify that the nationalists always served the enemies of the Ukrainian people and maintained close contacts with foreign intelligence services. Their cooperation with the German Nazis during WWII was particularly zealous.

Beginning on the first days of the German invasion of the USSR, nationalist figures at different levels declared that their loyalty to Adolf Hitler and the cause of "transforming" the world on the principles of Nazism would remain unswerving. Back in 1941, all such petitions, letters of thanks and appeals served merely as a propagandistic accompaniment to the first steps made by the Wehrmacht in its aggressive thrust into Soviet territory. Subsequently, the Nazis began to use them more

actively in establishing their "new order." The nationalists were now actively engaged in punitive missions against the partisan movement in the occupied regions, in carrying out the policy of genocide against Ukrainians, Russians, Jews and people of other nationalities who had for centuries lived in the Ukraine. Behind all this stood the clergymen, particularly the Uniate hierarchs, who not only blessed the nationalists for their servile collaboration with the Nazi invaders, but themselves had followed the path of treason, helping the occupiers punish the unruly while preaching obedience to the swastika-worshipping *Übermenschen.*

One of the most outrageous acts among the many crimes perpetrated by the Nazi colonizers was the mass forced transportation of able-bodied residents of occupied territories to Germany for slave labor. The nationalists and their holy fathers at present do their utmost to deny any involvement in or with these activities, but the facts speak for themselves. *Holos Pidkarpattya,* a newspaper published in the Nazi District of Galicia, triumphantly announced on April 4, 1943: "Recently, the 2,000th trainload of workers set off from the General Government on its way to Germany. (The total) is already one million workers."

In fact, it was more than a year and a half before the Ukraine would be completely cleared of the German Nazi aggressors. And how many other crimes would be perpetrated by the occupiers and their nationalist henchmen in the remaining months!

At that period, the Greek Catholic Church and its spiritual leader, Metropolitan Andrew

(Sheptytsky), sent instructions to the slave laborers being dispatched to Germany whereby they should unquestionably obey their future masters and work without days off — i. e., on Sundays and holy days. Absolving their sins for toiling on such days in advance, Metropolitan Sheptytsky threatened his flock (e. g., in a message dated April 21, 1943) that the slightest disobedience to their masters would be a sin for which they and their dear ones would pay.

The metropolitan's "parting word" completely tallied with the official propaganda of the occupation authorities, particularly with that contained in Nazi-run Ukrainian language newspapers. On April 15, 1943, *Visti* pharisaically proclaimed:

"Germany expects you to behave as a guest. You should in no way be ungrateful for the hospitality accorded you... German hospitality towards you calls for honesty, politeness and diligence in fulfilling your duties."

The Uniate clergy played an especially base role in the creation of the SS Halychyna Division and the recruitment of young Ukrainians from Galicia, Volyn and other Nazi-occupied territories.

The decree of the top Nazi authorities to set up the division was announced exactly a week after the afore-quoted message of Metropolitan Sheptytsky. This was by no means coincidental, as forcing young men and women out of the Ukraine to Germany, keeping the Wehrmacht supplied with cannon fodder, and taking part in the extermination of whole nations and peoples were links of the same chain of heinous

crimes on the part of the nationalists and the Uniate clergy against the Ukrainian people and the rest of humanity.

Volodymyr Kubijovych wrote in *Visti Kombatanta* (No. 5-6, 1968): "My decision to share the co-authorship with a German functionary in creating the division was to a considerable extent influenced by the opinion voiced by Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky."

In his address on April 28, 1943, Otto Wächter pointed out that, in accordance with the predetermined "festive procedures," started in the *Generalgouvernement*, the celebrations would continue in the administrative units and the larger points of habitation in the District of Galicia. Among other necessary ceremonies would be the proclamation of an appeal to the population of Galicia, urging young men to enlist into the SS Halychyna Division, to fight, under Nazi leadership, for a "new, just order in a victorious, new Europe."

The Church — specifically the Uniate, Greek Catholic, branch — was put to active use, alongside the Ukrainian Central Committee, to help lure on volunteers.

Unlike regular SS divisions, where the SS brass hats were ensured complete superiority and where religious sentiments were strongly discouraged and even ruthlessly suppressed, the SS Halychyna Division was presented, even at the organizational stage, as a combat unit relying on the assistance of the clergy to hold the men fast in the grip of discipline and morale. Wächter's address "To the Combat-Worthy Youth of Galicia" particularly stressed that spir-

itual care for the volunteers would be placed in the hands of Ukrainian clergymen.

A considerable place in the expectations of the Nazi organizers of the SS Halychyna Division that the Church would produce the desired effect was occupied by the fact that Sheptytsky, while being an officer of the Austro-Hungarian Army, had been entered as a secret agent into the strictly confidential files of Austrian intelligence. When WWI broke out, he had called on the Ukrainians of Galicia to defend their Austro-Hungarian "Motherland" and had been among the initiators of the *Ukrainski Sichovi Strilci* (Ukrainian Riflemen of the Sich). Later, he had also worked actively for the Nazis and met with Canaris, chief of the Abwehr.

In all his letters, memoranda and petitions addressed to various German bodies of authority, Sheptytsky always presented himself as a most loyal subject, ever prepared to exert his influence as head of the Uniate Church to the benefit of Hitler's Germany. Thus, a letter addressed to the Führer (January 14, 1942), bearing five signatures, the first one belonging to "Count Andrew Sheptytsky," read in part: "We assure Your Excellence that the leading strata of the Ukraine are striving to uphold an extremely close cooperation with Germany, to jointly... complete the struggle against the common enemy and realize the 'New Order' in the Ukraine and in the whole of Eastern Europe."

The Nazis also considered the fact that Sheptytsky had always complied with their requests and instructions and kept every promise he gave them. In a word, Sheptytsky had won himself the reputation of a dedicated disciple and

follower of Pope Pius XI who had declared at one time that he was prepared to reach an agreement with anybody, even the Devil himself, as long as it would bring closer the "extermination of communism."

Coadjutor Joseph Slipij, Rector of the Theological Seminary in Lviv, proved as skilled as his predecessor at serving the Nazis. In fact, their spiritual and ideological (anti-Communist) homogeneity was such that there were persistent rumors in Lviv that Slipij was one of Andrew Sheptytsky's numerous illegitimate sons. Be as it may, in the fall of 1939, Sheptytsky appointed Slipij "Exarch of Greater Ukraine." Slipij's non-existent "Exarchate" was to include, apart from the Ukraine, Bessarabia, the Don, Kuban, the Caucasus and other territories. Eager to gain control over the Exarchate, Joseph Splipij was prepared to follow in the footsteps of his spiritual overlords and come to terms with Satan, let alone the Nazis.

Having two such faithful servants as Sheptytsky and Slipij, Governor Otto Wächter of the District of Galicia made up his mind to use them most actively to attract volunteers for the new SS division. His next step was quite logical. On April 28, 1943, right after the "gala assembly," Wächter, his entourage and other participants in the "celebrations" turned up at the Church of St. George where everything had been made ready to receive Wächter and to stage another episode in the propaganda series commemorating the Nazi decision to form the SS Halychyna Division.

There was a special, solemn divine service conducted by Joseph Slipij and Doctor of Theology

Second part of the propaganda show, with Uniate clergy participating

Wasyl Laba, member of the Metropolitan Chapter, gave what reporters later described as a "sermon which conformed to the occasion."

"After the bells of Easter and joyful hymns, we again return to the religious theme with these words: 'This *is* the day *which* the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it.' Why must we feel glad during this arduous time of war? Because, following the approval on the part of the Führer of Great Germany, we have been given the opportunity to create an infantry division. It is the resurrection of the Ukrainian Galician Army, a tribute to our great military traditions. When is all this taking place? In a period of heated struggle against Bolshevism which is a mortal threat to the whole of Europe. We are being granted an opportunity to participate directly in this difficult

struggle, arms in hand. This is the only way to win our freedom. He who wants freedom must fight for it. We are called upon to do so by God, just as He once called upon the Crusaders to do battle to free the Holy Land — those same Crusaders who took to the field under the motto 'Thy Will Be Done!' Well, Our Lord wills thus today, too. And if He wills thus, it is a cause which pleases our God and we shall all follow it."

The second half of his sermon Laba delivered in German, for the sake of Otto Wächter and his retinue. According to numerous press accounts, that ceremony (which might have pleased anyone but the Lord Almighty) witnessed Laba thanking the Führer for the honor of being allowed to provide the Wehrmacht with more cannon fodder. Specifically, Laba "declared that Ukrainians, who are good farmers and workers, will also prove their worth as good soldiers. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the valorous German soldier, the Ukrainian warrior will also have a part in gaining the Victory."

The official ceremony proclaiming the creation of SS Halychyna Division was staged according to a carefully edited scenario, and was carried out at a quick pace. By noon of April 28, that same day, everything that had been planned in advance had already been carried out. The Nazi SS men did everything quickly, efficiently, and cynically. At the same time, they saw to it that adequate propaganda camouflage was provided. After all, a whole division was to be formed. It would take tens of thousands of recruits from among the populace of the District of Galicia — a rather complicated task, the more

so since Kubijovych had boasted to Wächter that hundreds of thousands of young people had already been transported to Germany as slave laborers.

That was why the Nazis found themselves in need of Ukrainian representatives of the Committee attending that "gala assembly" — people from a Central Committee that the Nazis themselves had set up. Likewise, they needed the farce at the Church of St. George with Dr. Laba's sermon. Most of all, however, the Nazis had to have the propaganda spouted by the Nazi collaborators — nationalist propagandists and the clergy — who spoke at various meetings and other get-togethers throughout Galicia.

On Sheptytsky's instructions, more than 20 Uniate priests were attached to the "SS Division," so these people would be able to promote the "holy war" against the Soviet Union. The Uniate Catholic Church was thus a signatory to the Oath the SS Halychyna Division swore to Adolf Hitler in November 1943. Those who took that oath were to "wage a struggle against the enemies of the whole world, against the Jews and the Bolsheviks."

In 1944, the hypocrisy of these holy fathers became apparent to everyone when they opposed those clergymen and seminarians who helped the Soviet Army drive the remaining Nazi forces out of the country. That year, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky and his successor Joseph Slipij demagogically proclaimed the Uniate Church a "traditionally non-combatant" one and then used every occasion to repeat that "we are not warriors; we abide by His law."

How could they gamble so shamelessly on their non-existent piety? Anyone more or less knowledgeable in history is aware that the Church Union (in full, the Church Union of Brest, 1596 — an alliance concluded between the Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church in Brest, much to the detriment of the Orthodox communities) was enforced in the Ukraine by the sword and violence. Churches and parishes in Galicia and Volyn were conquered by foreign troops. This was the only way that Captain-Bishop Joseph Shumliansky could implement the Union. And Polish Count Andrew Sheptytsky, a former dragoon officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army, now used similar methods.

"The love of peace" shown by the Uniate hierarchs at the end of 1944 was yet another manifestation of hostility toward the Soviet Union, toward the people of the Ukraine and other Soviet republics. It was also a manifestation of loyalty, a pledge made to Hitler to fight the Bolsheviks in every possible way.

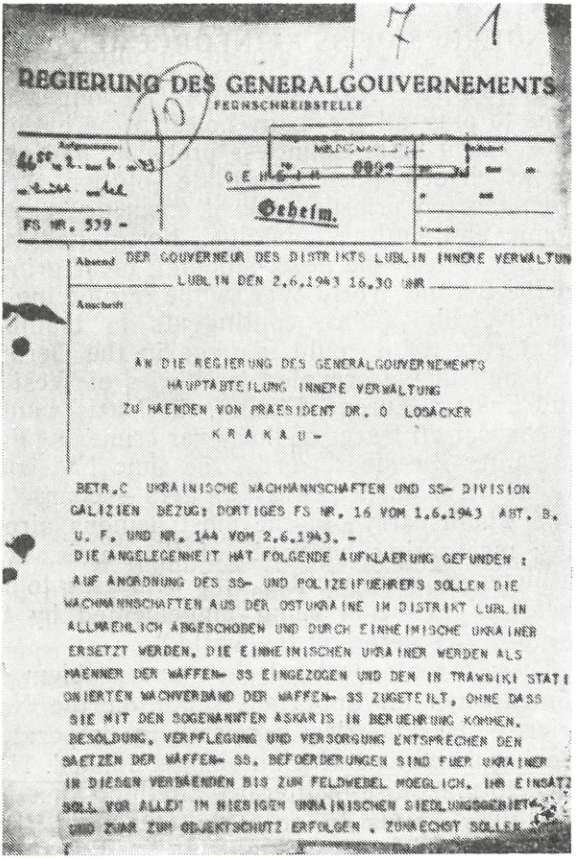
Hence the only logical, unequivocal answer to the question on whose side the Uniate Greek Catholic Church was during WWII, did it protect or betray the interests of the Ukraine?

Nor is it surprising that the Uniate Church was generally detested in the Ukraine, particularly in Galicia, Volyn and Transcarpathia (Zakarpattya). The logical finale of the 350 dark years of its domination was the Assembly of the Church and the People of 1946 which announced an end to the Union and the return of the believers to the Orthodox Church.

VI. NAZI DEATH CAMPS — SOURCES OF SS REINFORCEMENTS

In 1943, the Nazi aggressors no longer had time to plug all the many holes in the battered Wehrmacht ship. Countless problems had piled up which demanded immediate solution. Apart from the top priority task of ensuring its economic and military viability, Berlin had constantly to feed the never-stopping meat grinder of the Second World War, while reinforcing its punitive and police contingents to maintain what security it could manage in the German rear and in the occupied territories of Western and Eastern Europe. Finally, the Nazis wanted to conceal all traces of their war crimes against humanity. In other words, the time had come when they needed gravediggers — characters who would carry out the most heinous atrocities, massacring hundreds of thousands, even millions, of both victims and witnesses to the policy of genocide being implemented by the failing "conquerors of the world."

These three aspects of the same problem occupied such an important place on the Nazi priority list that they persisted in desperately seeking a solution which no longer existed. They tried to make use of literally anything that fell into their hands in order to carry out their schemes. These attempts can also be traced in the activities of the SS Halychyna Division, although it was clear that the division would never seriously help the Nazis solve any of the problems they faced, let alone handle all of them at once.



REGIERUNG DES GENERALGOUVERNEMENTS
FERNSCHREIBSTELLE

Geheim.

FS NR. 539 -

Abgang DER GOUVERNEUR DES DISTRIKTS LUBLIN INNERE VERWALTUN
LUBLIN DEN 2.6.1943 16.30 UHR

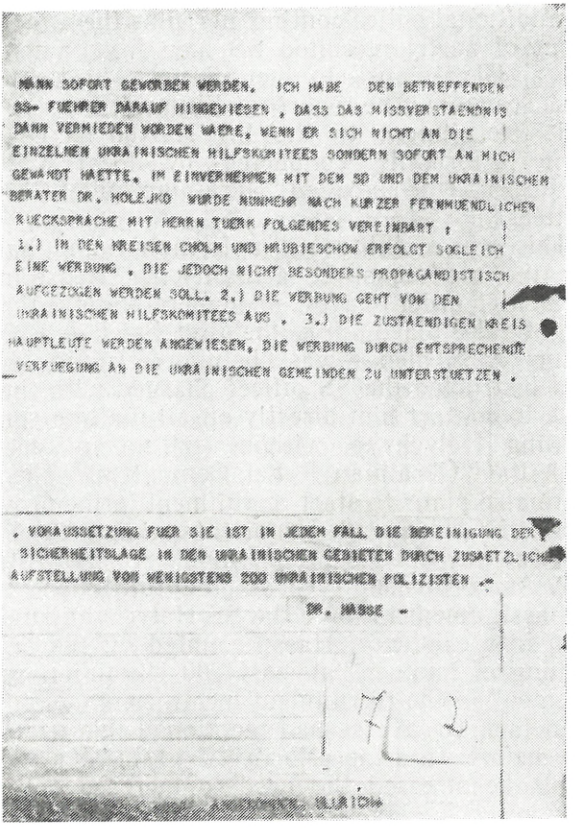
Ausfertigt

AN DIE REGIERUNG DES GENERALGOUVERNEMENTS
HAUPTABTEILUNG INNERE VERWALTUNG
ZU HAENDEN VON PRAESIDENT DR. O LOSACKER
K R A K A U -

BETR.C UKRAINISCHE WACHMANNSCHAFTEN UND SS- DIVISION GALIZIEN BEZUG: DORTIGES FS NR. 16 VOM 1.6.1943 ABT. B, U. F. UND NR. 1AA VOM 2.6.1943. -
DIE ANGELEGENHEIT HAT FOLGENDE AUFKLAERUNG GEFUNDEN :
AUF ANORDNUNG DES SS- UND POLIZEIFUEHRERS SOLLEN DIE WACHMANNSCHAFTEN AUS DER OSTUKRAINE IM DISTRIKT LUBLIN ALLMAEHLICH ABGESCHOBEN UND DURCH EINHEIMISCHE UKRAINER ERSETZT WERDEN. DIE EINHEIMISCHEN UKRAINER WERDEN ALS MAENNER DER WAFFEN- SS EINGEZOGEN UND DEN IN TRAWNIKI STATIONIERTEN WACHVERBAND DER WAFFEN- SS ZUGETEILT, OHNE DASS SIE MIT DEN SOGENANNTEN ASKARIS IN BERUEHRUNG KOMMEN. BESOLDUNG, VERPFLEGUNG UND VERSORGUNG ENTSPRECHEN DEN SAETZEN DER WAFFEN- SS. BEFOERDERUNGEN SIND FUER UKRAINER IN DIESEN VERBAENDEN BIS ZUM FELDWEBEL MOEGLICH. IHR EINSATZ SOLL VOR ALLEM IM HIESIGEN UKRAINISCHEN SIEDLUNGSGEBIET UND ZUM ZWECK OBJEKTSCHUTZ ERFOLGEN . ZUNAECHST SOLLEN

Dr. Hasse's cabled report to the *Generalgouvernement's* "Minister of Interior" Losacker (June 2, 1943)

Still, the Nazis gave it a try. Dr. Hasse, one of the chief hangmen of the population of the



MANN SOFORT GEWORBEN WERDEN. ICH HABE DEN BETREFFENDEN
SS- FUEHRER DARAUF HINGEWIESEN , DASS DAS MISSVERSTAENDNIS
DANN VERMIEDEN WORDEN WAERE, WENN ER SICH NICHT AN DIE
EINZELNEN UKRAINISCHEN HILFSKOMITEES SONDERN SOFORT AN MICH
GEWANDT HAETTE. IM EINVERNEHMEN MIT DEM SD UND DEM UKRAINISCHEN
BERATER DR. HOLEJKO WURDE NUNMEHR NACH KURZER FERNMUENDLICHER
RUECKSPRACHE MIT HERRN TUERK FOLGENDES VEREINBART :
1.) IN DEN KREISEN CHOLM UND HRUBIESCHOW ERFOLGT SOGLEICH
EINE WERBUNG , DIE JEDOCH NICHT BESONDERS PROPAGANDISTISCH
AUFGEZOGEN WERDEN SOLL. 2.) DIE WERBUNG GEHT VON DEN
UKRAINISCHEN HILFSKOMITEES AUS . 3.) DIE ZUSTAENDIGEN KREIS
HAUPTLEUTE WERDEN ANGEWIESEN, DIE WERBUNG DURCH ENTSPRECHENDE
VERFUEGUNG AN DIE UKRAINISCHEN GEMEINDEN ZU UNTERSTUETZEN .

. VORAUSSETZUNG FUER SIE IST IN JEDEM FALL DIE BEREINIGUNG DER
SICHERHEITSLAGE IN DEN UKRAINISCHEN GEBIETEN DURCH ZUSAETZLICHE
AUFSTELLUNG VON WENIGSTENS 200 UKRAINISCHEN POLIZISTEN .-

DR. HASSE -

7 2

[illegible] ANGEKOMMEN ULRICH

District of Lublin (an administrative unit the occupiers set up in Eastern Poland), reported on June 2, 1943, to Losacker (Minister of the Interior of the *Generalgouvernement* in Cracow) about the recruitment of manpower for the SS Halychyna Division and the formation

of additional police contingents, plus the attachment of newly recruited SS men from among "local Ukrainians" to the SS units in Lublin and Trawniki. The report read in part:

1. Recruitment to the SS Halychyna Division is formally conducted by local UCC branches — the so-called "Ukrainian Relief Committees."

This was nothing but a formality and bait for the credulous. In actuality, Dr. Hasse informed, in order to avoid misunderstandings that might take place while the first batch — 1,200 future SS men — was being recruited, he had instructed the SS officer charged with that task to contact him directly on all matters concerning Halychyna, without getting in touch with the "Ukrainian Relief Committee." There were also plans to start recruitment in the provinces of Chełm and Hrubieszów immediately, without any special propaganda arrangements.

2. As a precondition for the fulfillment of the assignment to force the SS Halychyna Division into existence, Hasse counted on the stationing of another "at least 200 Ukrainian policemen" in the recruitment localities.

In fact, Dr. Hasse had mentioned this necessity before. In a top priority telegram (May 25, 1943) he stressed the need to increase police manpower by a minimum of 200 and pointed out that "recruitment to SS Halychyna Division in Lublin District would generally be possible only after the local situation had improved considerably."

3. Drafting young Ukrainians into the division had yet another purpose; "...on the instruction of the SS and police command, the

security units will be gradually transferred from the Eastern Ukraine to the vicinity of Lublin and relieved by local Ukrainians. These local Ukrainians will wear SS uniforms and be attached to the SS unit stationed in Trawniki."

That was how Dr. Hasse solved all his problems with a single master stroke — or at least he thought he had. He fulfilled the recruitment quota (incidentally, he magnanimously allowed Ukrainian servicemen to be promoted to the rank of *Feldwebel* (sergeant major) and ensured recruitment rates and security in the District of Lublin. He also promptly assigned "local Ukrainians," clad in SS uniform, to function as ruthless executioners at the Nazi death camp in Trawniki, "in the vicinity of Lublin."

Dr. Hasse did not distinguish between the Wehrmacht and the SS men from the Halychyna Division. He planned to use them in what he considered the most expedient manner. While the division was being formed, he reasoned, some of its men might as well get some practice at the concentration camps in Lublin and Trawniki.

Remarkably, telegram No. 144 (June 2, 1943), to which Dr. Hasse refers in his own message to Losacker, accurately defines the role and designation of the SS Halychyna Division. In his own words, it is the *"Ukrainische Wachmannschaften der SS Division 'Galizien'"* — "Ukrainian Security (Guard) Units of the SS Halychyna Division."

In 1940, SS Reichsführer Himmler ordered the construction of the *Kriegsgefangenlager der Waffen SS Lublin.* The site was but a short

distance from that Polish city. The camp itself was located on a *Majdanek* (Polish for "city square"). The camp retained the aforementioned appellation, meaning "POW Camp of the SS in Lublin," till February 1943, although from its inception the whole project had been a regular Nazi death camp, intended as a place of confinement (and execution) crowded with inmates of all "categories" and nationalities. Before 1942, most of the captives were Poles, but in the spring of that same year, a total of 14,000 Jews were shipped in from Czechoslovakia. Subsequently, trainloads of Jewish victims arrived from Germany, Hungary, France, Belgium, Holland, Greece and Poland. This concentration camp (the Nazis knew it as the *Vernichtungslager* — camp for destruction — and, later, as Majdanek) held prisoners of 51 nationalities, brought from more than 20 countries. For a long time after the war, Majdanek contained a horrifying display of documents and personal effects of its murdered victims, people from England, Turkey, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria. Among them there was even an American policeman (judging by the shield found among the postwar debris).

A total of 1,380,000 inmates were shot, hanged, hunted down by dogs, clubbed to death, or killed in gas chambers.

During the Nazi occupation, Trawniki (Lublin District) was the venue of a transit camp for Soviet POW's where the death rate was as high as that of any other Nazi camp. There was also the *SS Arbeitslager* (SS labor camp) opened in May 1942. First, it was for Soviet POWs, but by mid-1942, it received trainloads

of civilians — captives from Poland, Russia and the Ukraine. A special category of the *Arbeitslager* inmates was made up of Jews, delivered from Poland, Austria, Belgium and Czechoslovakia. Their number reached 10,000. Apart from the high mortality rate caused by physical exhaustion, hunger, typhus and dysentery epidemics, a number of inmates were shot on and outside the camp grounds and in the nearby forest. In November 1943 alone, when the Nazis liquidated the camp, eight to ten thousand Jews were shot, replaced by three thousand Jews transported from Italy.

Apparently, the SS men from among "local Ukrainians" attached to the Trawniki contingent could be put to good use by the Nazis in quite a number of ways despite the fact that by the time of the formation of the SS Halychyna Division the German occupiers had managed to slaughter the residents of the Jewish ghetto in Trawniki by themselves. The Nazi hangmen had many other as gory jobs to attend to, so Dr. Hasse and his like demanded for reinforcements for the professional killers under their command, which they hoped to find among the SS men of the newly created Halychyna Division.

This is what lay behind the dry lines about the "attachment" of freshly recruited "local Ukrainians" to the SS contingents in Trawniki.

Carved in the wall of the pantheon-mausoleum built on the site of the death camp of Majdanek are these words: *Los nasz — dla was przestroga!* ("Our lot is a warning to you"). The millions of victims of the Nazi death camps appeal to the reason of the living, urging them

to expose and bring to justice the surviving SS butchers who are still hiding in West Germany, the United States, Canada and other capitalist countries.

VII. THE "MILITARY COUNCIL"

Even before the propaganda campaign began, on April 28, 1943, "within the administration of the Governor of Galicia," the so-called *Vijskova Uprava* (Military Council) of the SS Halychyna Division was set up and presided over by Abwehr Colonel Alfred Bisanz.

Kubijovych claims that the first sitting of that Military Council took place on April 15, 1943, and was attended by Colonel Bisanz, Captain Navrotsky, Lieutenant Zharsky, as well as by Khronowiat, Bilozir, Makarushka, Ostroverkha (Editor), and *SS Hauptsturmführer* Dr. Schulze. In general, the name of Schulze is mentioned in few reports of the Ukrainian nationalists concerning the SS Halychyna Division. But meanwhile, he was personally involved in its formation as head of the *SS Ergenzungsamt* (Department for SS Reinforcements) and was directly in charge of the Military Council, particularly where its recruiting activities were concerned.

The setting up of the Military Council was officially announced on April 28, 1943. On that day, Governor Wächter, in the presence of numerous officials of the Nazi administration of the District of Galicia, declared that the Council had been formed as an executive body under the

District Governor, and that persons previously invited to Wächter's quarters were appointed as members. Colonel Alfred Bisanz was from now on Chairman of the Military Council, and the other members were the Rev. Wasyl Laba, Osip Navrotsky, Andriy Paliy, Lyubomyr Makarushka, Yevhen Pindus, Mikhailo Khronowiat, Ivan Rudnitsky, Yuri Krochmaliuk, Zenon Zelenyi, Mikhailo Kushnir and Stepan Volynets. General Victor Kurmanovych was made Honorary Chairman of the Council.

Its functions included agitation for enlistment in the SS Halychyna Division, as well as selection and recruitment of manpower. The Military Council was further to care for the newly recruited soldiers and their families.

Subsequently, the Council furnished fresh recruits for the division, reinforcing it and manning it anew after the Soviet Army dealt it a devastating blow in 1944. To no avail, the Council attempted to uphold its withering morale (meaning all those delegated). In 1945, it took part in working out a "strategy line," consisting of planning a surrender to the British.

As soon as the Military Council was officially approved by Governor Wächter who provided it with "letters of recommendation," its members went to different parts of the District of Galicia. Alfred Bisanz and Yuri Krokhmaliuk headed for Buchach; Volynets was directed to Sambir and Turka; Khronowiat to Bibrka, etc. Dozens of "authorized officials," appointed by the Military Council to the regional centers and the bigger towns of the District, joined the recruitment campaign.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) also lent a hand through its local outlets. Colonel Roman Sushko, one of the OUN's upper echelons, represented the Organization at the first "official" session of the Military Council (April 28, 1943).

VIII. THE HUNT FOR "VOLUNTEERS"

Besides the OUN, the Military Council, the *SS Ergenzungsamt*, and the whole administrative machine of the District of Galicia, efforts to recruit manpower for the SS Halychyna Division were exerted by Volodymyr Kubijovych's Ukrainian Central Committee, its benevolent committees and branches in the rural areas.

As soon as the Nazis determined to organize an SS "Galician Division," the nationalist press came up with the "Appeal of the UCC Leader to Ukrainian Citizens and the Younger Generation."

Stanislavivske slovo, Holos Pidkarpattya and other occupation-time periodicals carried it under the banner headline "Road to a Bright Future."

"Ukrainian Citizens," read the Appeal, "...the Leader of the Great German State has given his assent to the creation of a separate Ukrainian volunteer combat formation, called the SS Halychyna Infantry Division... We must, therefore, take note of this occasion, being fully aware of its true significance, and take up arms to participate in this struggle. At present, the struggle is neither unequal nor hopeless. Now

our age-old enemy faces the finest combat force of the world. Now or never!

"Young Ukrainians, I am addressing you in particular and am calling upon you to join the ranks of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division...

"Ukrainian citizens, the time for waiting, for suffering and being worn out is up. Instead, the great opportunity has arisen for our people to show how well they can fight. We are joining this holy war side by side with the heroic army of Great Germany and people from other European countries as volunteers... It is a lofty and sacred cause, so it demands from us tremendous efforts and sacrifice.

"I believe that these efforts and sacrifices are a thorny but correct path that will lead us to a bright future.

"Dr. Volodymyr Kubijovych,
Leader of the UCC."

Already, the first documents relating to the formation of the SS Halychyna Division, addressed to the residents of the *Generalgouvernement* (e. g., Frank's "Manifesto" and Kubijovych's "Appeal"), pointed, among other things, to the division's anti-Semitic, *pogromist* nature. Hans Frank, and his faithful mouthpiece, Volodymyr Kubijovych, never missed a chance to call for struggle against the Jews and Bolsheviks.

True, for many years all Nazi leaders and the occupation media had begun and ended their statements with what sounded like appeals for the destruction of the Jews, Bolsheviks, the Soviet Union as a whole, and its allies — Great Britain, the United States, etc. However, this wasn't just rhetoric or lipservice. Every such

appeal was followed by mass killings of Jews, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Russians, Poles, Czechs and other "non-Aryan" peoples. The Nazis made specific arrangements for what they believed would be the ultimate fiasco of Churchill's Great Britain and Roosevelt's United States ("Wait till we are through with our *Drang nach Osten* program against the Bolsheviks!"). All those who stood in the way of that "Great Germany" which craved and ardently strived for world supremacy were also doomed, according to the Nazis.

The SS Halychyna Division was also meant for those same top priority purposes of the Nazis, namely their fight against the Bolsheviks and the Jews, whom they had outlawed. This much was bluntly declared by members of the Military Council and other recruitment agents during sessions and meetings in different towns and villages of the *Generalgouvernement* where those agents were sent.

Stanislavivske slovo (No. 21, May 23, 1943) published an editorial under the pompous heading "With Gun in Hand We Shall Go Forth to the Glorious Battle. Until the End of the War. All Our Strength We Give to the Struggle Against the Jews and Communists!" This article makes it possible to identify yet another characteristic of the ongoing propaganda campaign of that time — a demand for "efforts and sacrifices (earlier mentioned by Kubijovych in his "Appeal" where he called for giving everything one had to the war effort)."

In part, the editorial read:

"Today, total war is being waged — i. e., the complete and unconditional dedication of all

their strength to the war effort is demanded from all citizens without exception. Everyone's thoughts and activities must be concentrated and aimed in one direction only — winning the war. This unswerving will, this desire must unite absolutely all members of the national community who will actively manifest it in their daily endeavors...

"We must defend ourselves and devote all our powers to the struggle against the deadly enemy. No one can refuse to take parf; no one can stand aside, be neutral, or play a waiting game. Once the enemy gets the upper hand, he will spare no one, he will destroy all of us, without asking whether a particular individual stood in the sideline or took an active part in that struggle. Such is the principle of total warfare — either complete victory or total devastation and annihilation. Those who do not take an active part in the war today, who do not do their utmost for the war effort doom themselves to destruction, because the enemy will show no mercy...

"Since the moment the Act was proclaimed, April 28, 1943, since the moment our own combat force was created, new tasks face us which can be solved only when all members of our national community have joined hands in a major war effort.

"Therefore, we must all get down to work unconditionally and redouble our efforts to fulfill our tasks properly."

The editorial was accompanied by a photo showing Mikhailo Khronowiat, member of the Military Council, formerly a battalion commander in the Ukrainian Galician Army, making a

speech in Bibrka (Lviv Region). His hand, raised in the traditional Nazi salute, reveals the true nature of his appeal for enlistment in the SS Halychyna Division. In fact, he made no secret of what he had in mind for all those young Ukrainians. By then, everyone realized that the division being formed would be a *Waffen SS* unit, not a *Sichovi Strilci* formation, as various "historians" and "chroniclers" of that Galician division so stubbornly allege now.

The UCC appeals were repeated many times in occupation newspapers and magazines. They appeared in the form of leaflets in the provincial centers of the districts of Galicia, Lublin and Cracow. Actually, the UCC's local branches printed their own declarations and appeals. For example, the appeal of the Ukrainian District Committee in Berezhany read:

"Young people, all of you have the opportunity to carry the glory of the Ukrainian nation on the tips of your bayonets and spread it far and wide, to take its destiny in your own hands, and to proclaim its future with the roar of artillery fire...

"Enlist in the SS Halychyna Infantry Division."

On Governor Wächter's instructions, the ceremony of the Act of April 28, 1943, was immediately followed by appropriate campaigns in the outlying regions. Wasyl Yashan, the division's "historian" and glorifier, wrote on the occasion of its 25th anniversary that in the town of Stanislav, "already on April 29, 1943, the provincial elders and governors held a conference to which representatives of the UDC and the Ukrainian clergy were invited... On May 9,

1943, at 10 a. m. a grand demonstration began at the Ivan Franko Theater dedicated to the creation of the division. Among the speakers were Dr. Albrecht (district elder.— V. S.), the Rev. Mykytiuk, and engineer Popovych. Music was provided by a Ukrainian police band... On May 10, registration of people born in 1920-1925 for work in the Reich began. Those enlisting in the division were exempted from registration."

Stanislavivske slovo and other newspapers resorted to undisguised falsehood when they reported the "successes" of the enlistment campaign. *Slovo's* coverage to that end served as an eloquent example of the treacherous techniques of the nationalists. Incidentally, this newspaper, like Judas, received its pieces of silver for just that kind of work; the price for every issue was 30 *groszy*.

At one time, *Stanislavivske slovo* reported that, on May 15, 1943, volunteers began to enlist in the SS division at the Ukrainian Relief Committee in the town of Sanok. "On the first days of enlistment," it wrote, "the (drafting) commission saw almost all the men fit for combat service in the town of Sanok. On May 16, demonstrations of support took place in all the villages of Sanok District."

Very soon the recruiters realized that conscripts from Galicia alone would never suffice to man the SS division, so they extended the "geography" of their hunt for "volunteers" to the districts of Lublin and Cracow, even outside the *Generalgouvernement*, at POW camps, among the *Ostarbeiters* (people brought to Germany from Nazi-occupied Eastern territories

as slave laborers) and among what was described as a "labor force procured from neighboring countries."

Stanislavivske slovo also reported that on May 23, a conference of clergymen and teachers was convened in Lemkovina, in the town of Horlitsya, to discuss recruitment to the SS Halychyna Division. The campaign was to start in the next few days. Two weeks earlier, volunteers had begun to be selected from among the Ukrainian populace of the District of Cracow, and later from the District of Lublin. Pompous reports were filed to the effect that there were many volunteers from Przemysl, Jaroslaw and neighboring villages. Still, even cheap pro-Nazi nationalist periodicals like *Stanislavivske slovo* could not hide the fact that in the said localities the recruiters met with reluctance from those expected to enlist in the division, which, of course, was attributed to the doings of "hostile elements."

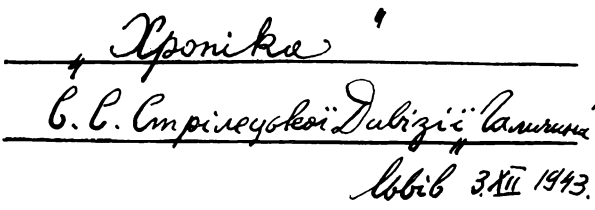
This reluctance, however, proved too frequently the case to be shrugged off as something accidental. Nor was it coincidental that the "Appeal of the UCC Leader to Ukrainian Citizens and the Younger Generation" contained the alarming motto "The Enemy Never Sleeps!" and reminded the loyal citizens that "by means of high rhetorics about eternal peace and brotherhood among the nations... hostile propaganda" led those people (to their goal) in 1917-1919. Kubijovych called for everyone to take up arms, and warned that those who did not would be mercilessly punished. In special leaflets, spread among the populace, he declared that "Rejection or evasion of lofty service in

the *SS Schütze Division 'Galizien'* is an act of anarchy." Everybody knew by then what the Nazi occupation authorities did to people charged with disobedience and anarchy.

These examples lift only part of the propaganda smoke-screen behind which the recruiters attempted to conceal the strong reluctance of the absolute majority of men of conscription age to serve in the SS units. Actually, the Military Council recruiters and their authorized agents faced what was best described as resolute resistance whenever they launched their enlistment campaigns.

Already two or three days after the creation of the division was made public, its Military Council sent out special explanatory circulars concerning enlistment formalities. Simultaneously, it produced heaps of printed enlistment forms. Every applicant was supposed to sign such a paper, regardless of whether he had enlisted or been "drafted." As a result, according to those forms, it seemed as if the whole Halychyna Division was made up of volunteers — precisely the requirement laid down in the Statute (outdated and practically discarded as it was) of the *Waffen SS*.

The recruiters applied fraudulent maneuvering, deceit, pressure and outright blackmail to make young people sign their enlistment forms. They also did it to provide a sufficient number of "volunteers" for their superiors. Quite a few of their victims did not even realize what kind of documents they had signed: many of those who signed thought it was yet another bit of red-tape. Alfred Bisanz, head of the Military Council, later testified that an even greater



Title of the "Chronicle of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division"

number of people who had signed the form and later received official summons declined to report to their draft boards.

The most outrageous, criminal methods of recruitment applied by the SS Halychyna Division agents consisted of what was known as "mass" (forced) enlistment of students of schools and other institutions of learning.

On May 23, 1943, *Stanislavivske slovo* carried the article "Ranks of Orderly Youth at Draft Boards." Among other things, the author claims that the "influx of high school students to the draft boards continues to rise" and gives the following examples:

"On the first day of recruitment, the principal of the trade school in Sanok, Mykhalevych, enlisted with all his students.

"In Sambir, a large group of students from the local seminary arrived at the draft board led by their principal, Martynets."

College and high school students were also "persuaded" to enlist in Zolochiv, Krinitsya, Lviv and other cities.

Joseph Mstislavetz wrote in his book *Under Alien Banners* (N. Y., 1946) : "Violence became the key method of 'voluntary' recruitment for

the SS division. Village elders and recruiting agents caught young fellows in villages, packed them into trucks and sent them to towns. There, they 'volunteered' to report to the boards and, shedding their embroidered Ukrainian shirts, they donned the sickly green-colored uniforms, with grief-stricken faces, and marched down the streets to the accompaniment of songs. School principals made their students enlist in the division. Kowalisko, principal of a commercial school, arbitrarily signed up all the senior grades. Radzikevych, principal of the First Ukrainian Gymnasium (here: college) in Lviv, cajoled and threatened students, even helping them get their diplomas if they joined the 'volunteers.'"

The recruiters often "bribed" school and college students, using such cheap tactics as freeing them from examinations or getting them diplomas early.

The Rev. Dr. Havryil Kostelnyk, member of the Metropolitan Chapter, took part in the ill-famed divine service at the Cathedral of St. George (Lviv, April 28, 1943). He stated later that, "We committed the most heinous crime against the Ukrainian people during the whole of the Nazi invasion when we demanded that our people give up their dearest possession, youth, to bloodthirsty Nazism and send them to fight... their blood brothers."

In 1943, the division's command introduced a daily written account of all major events under the general pretentious title "Chronicles of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division."

Below are some of the entries made that same year which shed light on precisely that aspect

Львів

Сьогодні до Канцелярії" В. Управи привів німецький жандарм двох добровольців Дивізії" Галичина скутих із Судової" Вишні. Це ті, що не відійшли на вишкіс, а сиділи в хаті.

- 29.X. Львів

Для Дивізії" „Галичина" вишколюють німці во „Функерів" себто стрільців від рація.

- Сьогодні знову привели одного добровольця. Дивізія „Галичина" з Камінки Струмскут до Канцелярії" В. Управи. Такі випадки останніми часами трапляються частіше

Entries in the "Chronicle"

7. XII. 43.

Щоденно біля 20ої год вечора від'їжджають транспорти новозатягнених, (найцїлгрів) булих зголошених але не ставших з тих чи інших причин до лікарської комісії чи навіть тих які ставши до комісії й будучи прийняті не відїхали на час й числяться дезертирами. Таких приводить по більшій части укр. чи нім поліція часом за кутих.

Сьогодні є таких біля 20 добровольців.

* Останньо за нестовившихся на час добровольців виїжджає вилагувати вже створена на ту ціль полева жанд. Дивізії

Сьогодні переходить з Баудіжту (У. С. Б) 170 добровольців в Дивізію яких ескортувати ме завтрішнім транспорт-ом пор. Яськевич який заявив що стоїть зі вугляду на обставини, що певно на зеватьси йому на час яких 70 люда

of the "mass enlistment" campaign which SS propagandists would have paid dearly to keep in the dark.

"Lviv.

"Today, a German gendarme brought two handcuffed Halychyna Division volunteers to the Military Council office from Sudova Vishnya. They dodged the drilling and stayed home."

"October 29, Lviv...

"Today, another handcuffed volunteer from the Halychyna Division was brought to the Military Council office from Kamyanka Strumilova. Of late, such cases have become more frequent."

"December 7, 1943.

"Every day, around 8 p. m., truckloads of fresh draft dodgers set off. These are people who were drafted but failed to report to the medical commission or committed some other infraction, or even those who passed the commission but did not report for duty on time and are considered deserters. They are mostly brought by the Ukrainian or German police.

"Today, we have some 20 such 'volunteers.'

"Lately, draft-dodging volunteers have been apprehended by the specially set up field gendarmerie of the division.

"P. S.— Above information incorrect; officially, the gendarmerie, or 'Division Escort,' handles fugitives here, at the Military Council. It is called the *Begleitungs-Kommando.*

"Today, 170 volunteers are being transferred from the *Baudienst* (USB) * to the division.

* *Baudienst* — German Construction Service; USB *(Ukrainska Sluzhba Batkivshchyni)* — "Ukrainian Service for the Motherland"

Tomorrow, they will be escorted under the command of Lieutenant Yaskevych who has declared that, depending on circumstances, some 70 of them will most likely fail to turn up on time."

Quite an eloquent description of all that "mass enthusiasm," isn't it? What is more, the chronicler insists on calling volunteers all those made to join the SS Halychyna Division — even those brought to the division's Military Council in fetters. Either the "chronicler" did not realize that his formulations would make the entire "volunteer" division look extremely foolish or, the reverse, he possessed a remarkable sense of humor and left the above entries simply to make fun of this SS creation. Be this as it may, his records come in rather handy when exposing an aspect of the SS Galician division which was carefully hidden from the public eye at that time.

Though the recruiters tried hard, the enrollment campaign was slow. To encourage young people to enlist, representatives of the Military Council, former servicemen of the Austro-Hungarian Army, Ukrainian *Sichovi Strilci*, Ukrainian Galician Army and other military units of the early 20th century pretended to be volunteers themselves.

Who is who

MIKHAILO OMELYANOVYCH-PAVLENKO and AVERKIY HONCHARENKO

The formation of the Halychyna Division within the *Waffen SS* came as a pleasant surprise for the surviving officers and generals of Stephen Petlura's army, whose *pogromchiks* in their declining years still cherished hopes for revenge for the infamous defeat they had suffered a quarter of a century before.

On July 6, 1941, together with the OUN's "Führer," Andrew Melnyk, and other Abwehr agents, Lieutenant General Mikhailo Omelyanovych-Pavlenko signed a petition addressed to the Nazi command and requesting the setting up of a Ukrainian combat unit. Later, he signed other such documents. When the Nazis proclaimed the creation of the SS Halychyna Division, Omelyanovych-Pavlenko gave vent to his emotions, shouting *Heil Hitler*! In a letter to the division's Military Council (Prague, May 5, 1943), he wrote:

"The news of the creation of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division fills our hearts with inexplicable joy, especially the fact that it will serve to prolong the traditions of our campaign

Omelyanovych-Pavlenko's letter of May 5, 1943

КОЛЕГІЯ ПРОПАМЯТНОЇ ВОЄННОЇ ВІДЗНАКИ

Української Галицької Армії

Прага, дня 5. травня 1943

До

Української Військової Управи

у Львові.

Вістка про утворення - "С.С. Стрілецької Дивізії Галичина" - наповняє нас невимовною радістю а особливо факт, що навязується на традицію нашого походу проти більшовиків в роках 1918 - 1920 та що дається Українським Комбатантам можливість продовжувати нами розпочате в е л и к е д і л о.

Прийміть наші найщирійші побажання найкращого успіху.

Гейль Гітлер!

Слава Українському Військові!

За капітулу П.В.В.УГА.:

Ген.-поручник М.Омельянович-Павленко

За колегію П.В.В.УГА.:

голова Поруч., Інж.А.Галька

секретар Четар Я.Олексенко

against the Bolsheviks in 1918-1920,* and that Ukrainian combatants are thus given an opportunity to carry on with the great cause begun by them.

"Please accept our most sincere wishes for every success.

"Heil Hitler!
"Glory to the Ukrainian Army!"

As a general, Mikhailo Omelyanovych-Pavlenko realized that the Halychyna Division was being set up as an SS unit and that the Nazis would tolerate no "national sentiments." His letter was nothing but propaganda, and at an early stage in forming the division, the SS attached quite a lot of importance to it. Two months later, however, the man actually in control of that division, SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler, bluntly stated in a directive addressed to the Halychyna Division that "it would never be called a Ukrainian division or a Ukrainian formation."

Among the "Ukrainian combatants" who tried to set personal examples to attract young volunteers to the SS division was the rather odious figure of Captain Averkiy Honcharenko.

The 1917 Revolution in Russia found Averkiy

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* In December 1918, M. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko, then "Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Galician Army," headed what was known as the "first winter campaign" — a raid by Petlura's detachments on Right-Bank Ukraine

Honcharenko, an officer of the tsarist army, working as a teacher at School No. 2 for Ensigns (Kiev). Considering himself loyal to the counterrevolutionary *Tsentralna Rada* (Central Council), Honcharenko led his cadets and other forcefully conscripted young men to certain death in the name of ensuring the success of the *Tsentralna Rada's* political schemes. In his autobiography, Honcharenko writes that the school for ensigns, hastily renamed the First Hetman Bohdan Khmelnitsky Military School for Youth, "took part in battles against the Bolsheviks until the German Army entered the Ukraine and met its end in combat near Kruty, January 1918."

Honcharenko does not mention the actual mad scheme of the *Tsentralna Rada* which resulted in the tragedy of Kruty and the senseless death of several hundred callow, brainwashed youngsters. Nor does he describe his own "contribution" to it, which later became rather well known among Ukrainian emigres in Western European and American countries.

As it turned out, Averkiy Honcharenko's nephew was a member of one of the groups of students from Kiev who arrived at the station of Kruty where the nationalists planned to battle the advancing revolutionary forces. Captain Honcharenko knew what their role in the forthcoming battle would be and their inevitable fate, so he sent his nephew back to Kiev. To quell possible suspicions, he sent off other young men of the boy's group as well. What happened was that an "experienced officer" or-

dered a group of soldiers back to Kiev without considering the situation that had by then developed and without first finding out whether there was any possibility of carrying out such an order. As a result, the group of students was sent straight into the machine gun fire of the Red Army men. Only a small part of the victims of Honcharenko's strategy were buried in Kiev. Most remained near Kruty.

Averkiy Honcharenko wasn't punished for this crime, motivated by purely personal reasons, because the death of the students was a feather in the cap of the *Tsentralna Rada.* It is not mere coincidence that back in 1918 and even now, nationalists of all stripes praise so volubly the "heroism" and "sacrifice" of the Kiev student "volunteers," careful not to reveal the fact that those young people were really killed by Averkiy Honcharenko and other incompetent and criminal nationalist commanders like him.

In 1918-1920, Honcharenko proceeded to make his career, serving, in his own words, as chief of operations under generals Yunak and Kurmanovych of the nationalist Ukrainian National Republic's army (that very same Kurmanovych who in April 1943 became Honorary Chairman of the Military Council of the SS Halychyna Division).

The enlistment of 53-year-old Captain Honcharenko in the division and the mobilization of young Ukrainian men have a lot in common with the actions of the Ukrainian nationalists in 1918. Anyway, the undeniable fact remains

Аверкій Гончаренко, уродженний на
Полтавщині, Лохвицький повіт, с. Дащенки.
22 X 1890 р. Середню освіту одержав Прилуцкій гімназії.
Військову школу скінчив у Чуґуїві (Харківщина)
у 1912 р., звідки був призначений до 76 Кубанського
полку м. Тульчин, на Поділлю. Армія Російська
з полком виступив на війну у 1914 р. на якій був до 1916 р.
коли був ранений. По вилічені був призначений
лектором до 2-ої школи прапорщиків у Київі, як
лектор. З початком революції у Росії переорга-
нізував школу прапорщиків і при помочи Секретаріату
Військових справ - перепровадив Українізацію і затвер-
дження на 1 Військову імени Гетьмана Богдана Хмельницького
Юнацьку школу. Школа приймала участь у боях проти
большевиків до приходу Німецької армії в Україну, а
закінчила боєм під Крутами, січень 1918 р.
У 1918, 1919 і 1920 роках займав ріжні становища, як Губко-
мендант Поділля, Начальник оперативної канцелярії Української
армії про генералах Юнакову і Курмановичу. Відтак
у таборах - Каліш - знову як лектор Юнацької Укр. школи.
З проклямованням формовання Української дивізії „Галичина"
вступив у її ряди.

Гончаренко Аверкій
Сотник.

Гешах 16 X 1943.

Averkiy Honcharenko's autobiography

that in both cases the nationalists committed a crime against the dearest treasure of any people — its youth.

* * *

Statements made by ex-generals and the enlistment in the division of former *sotnyks* (captains) and *otamans* produced a certain emotional effect, but the younger Ukrainians viewed this campaigning rather sceptically. *Stanislavivske slovo* explained the lack of volunteers by the fact that there weren't many Ukrainians of conscription age left in the *Generalgouvernement*, "for quite a few were already serving in the police and the *Werkschutz*, while many had gone to work in Germany." But this was only one side of the matter. The main reason for the fiasco of the enlistment campaign was the direct resistance of Soviet citizens who courageously fought the Nazi invaders and who could not be made to turn traitor either by force or deceit. And so the recruiters applied coercive mobilization, rounding up people, blackmailing them and simply forcing them to join the division at gunpoint. They also managed to "reinforce" the division with a handful of degraded characters who were prisoners of war, as well as those brought to Germany for slave labor. It was precisely in this manner that Stepan Hoyko, former POW camp inmate in Berlin, found himself in the SS troops. Three days after he had agreed to serve in the Wehrmacht, he was sent to what was known as a field engineers' school in Hamburg, but it was actually a regular Nazi espionage school. After finishing this school, Hoyko was attached to the SS Halychyna Divi-

sion and eventually won a reputation as its most reckless arsonist and destroyer. His personal record was 40 buildings demolished in the town of Zolochiv and some 100 structures mined in Ternopil (he personally witnessed the demolition of 15 of them). In Ternopil and Lviv regions, he burned down and blew up buildings in such localities as Chekhiv, Olesko, Yaseniv and Busk.

The Military Council and its agents in towns and provinces also encouraged women to enlist in the SS division. *Stanislavivske slovo*, apparently gripped in wishful thinking, wrote: "Women declare their readiness to join the division." To back up their rather bold presumption, the newspaper continued, "In Borislav, a WWI nurse has enlisted; besides, other women have announced that they want to dedicate all their energies to the division." Quite a modest formulation. A middle-aged nurse and a couple of other women in Borislav who allegedly wanted to "dedicate all their energy to the division" (granting there *were* such people, and it wasn't just another invention of the newspaper's Ukrainian Nazi hack, that is) was nothing to write home about. The situation was no better in other towns and villages of the districts of Galicia, Lublin and Cracow.

Even after the "volunteers" had been sent off for combat training, the administration of the *Distrikt Galizien* and the SS division's Military Council knew no peace. They were constantly having to procure reinforcements to fill the gaps produced by desertion and the detachments of men sent to Nazi espionage schools, etc.

The following entry was made in the "Chronicles" of that SS division at the beginning of 1944.

"March 9, Lviv.

"The government of the District of Galicia has issued a secret directive whereby all Ukrainians and Poles born in 1921-1925 must be registered. Aim of registration: Ukrainians to be mobilized for active duty; Poles made to work. Registration to be carried out by *Kreismans, Landkommissars* and chiefs of provincial administrations. There are cases, however, when *Kreismans* or *Landkommissars* in the provinces summon the officer in charge of the military department and instruct him to draw up a list of eligible Ukrainians. This happened in Lviv and Zolochiv. In fact, Alfred Bisanz, Chairman of the Military Council, received a confidential directive concerning the preparation of conscription lists but told the Military Council nothing to the effect. It was only on the fourth or sixth day after the order came and Bisanz was accosted by Captain Navrotsky and Captain Khronowiat who wanted to know 'what's happening to that mobilisation campaign over these?' that he produced the confidential directive. German authorities are afraid that once there is green grass round us, our youth will run away and hide in the forest. And so they came up with this mobilization project. The Military Council is of the opinion that nothing will come of the conscription effort without a political declaration on the part of the German administration, and that the youth will be driven to the partisans in the forest. Authorities have sent out special forms to be signed by young villagers, stating that

they have enlisted in the division... But the young people do not sign these 'volunteer' enlistment forms. The Military Council considers that mobilization will be a success, but a certain amount of political provisions must be put forward to charge the Ukrainians with enthusiasm, giving them amnesty, restraining them from excessive acts (young people have been arrested in Lviv again, including Lida Kotkivna, daughter of Dmytro Kotko, and others) which may well bring harm to the division. Prof. Kubijovych thinks the Military Council should surrender its powers, which the Military Council has no intention of doing, because it fears that this would make things even worse, and that the Germans would carry on with their plans just the same."

The documents in this chapter, as well as the statements of contemporaries, prove only too clearly that the SS Halychyna Division was manned not so much by volunteers as by "mass enlistment" campaigns whereby young people were forced to join the division against their will, when they were spied out, apprehended in towns and villages, and herded (often handcuffed) either to the nearest draft boards or directly to the division's Military Council. The SS recruiters often resorted to intimidation, deceit or outright coercion.

"It was thus, with the help of blackmail, intimidation, propaganda, and such 'voluntary conscription,' that the Germans... created the so-called *Waffen SS Division 'Galizien.'*" This resume has been taken from Mykola Lebed, former head of OUN's "Security Service" (SB) who, in his book *The UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent*

Army), analyzes the methods by which the Halychyna Division was formed. (See *Homin Ukrainy*, Toronto, No. 48 (289), November 27, 1954.)

IX. SIX-MONTH EFFORT: STILL NO HEADWAY

In 1980, Vasyl Veryha, former SS man of the Halychyna Division, presently living in Toronto, Canada, published the book *Along the Roads of the Second World War*. Among other things, he notes that a total of 52,875 persons passed through the division's draft boards. "Of these," Veryha writes, "an even smaller number were called up. American researchers claim that... less than 30,000 of them were signed on..." Veryha refers to Stein's *The Waffen SS: Hitler's Elite Guard at War, 1939-45*, Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell University Press, 1966 (p. 185).

Incidentally, those drafted into the SS division were not dealt with by such boards. Some of the latter handled recruits meant for the division proper, but there existed separate bodies that selected candidates for what was known as the "Black SS," to be used at Nazi concentration camps and the *Vernichtungslager* — special extermination centers. Those candidates came mostly from propertied families or were people who had already proved their loyalty to the German administration. In the town of Snyatyn, for example, there functioned a commission to select manpower for the division; the one in Kolomiya specialized in "Black SS" candidates. The Abwehr and other Nazi

clandestine agencies also conducted "appropriate" work among the SS division volunteers to procure future spies and saboteurs.

Therefore, from the very outset of the activities to form the SS Halychyna Division, its Military Council, the Ukrainian Central Committee, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and other nationalist bodies promoting the enlistment campaign, became directly involved in supplying "volunteers" for Nazi spy schools and the "Black SS" annihilation detachments.

Recruits selected by these commissions or draft boards (the SS division's "chronicler" calls them *Neuzügler*, the newly-hauled-in) were sent to the assembly points and, in the end, were shipped off to Lviv, where they received uniforms and were sent off to predetermined field training centers.

In a way, the "Chronicles of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division" illustrates the conditions under which these newly-hauled-in "volunteers" were shipped off:

"Yesterday, October 10, volunteers of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division from the (administrative) District of Kolomiya left for the training center.

"October 14, Kolomiya...

"The departure of the volunteers from the District of Kolomiya was preceded by the following event. On October 1, *Baudienst* police came to the village of Pereriv and took one Hutsul prisoner who was then escorted to the *Baudienst* HQ. The captive Hutsul was 'liberated' by his family. One Ukrainian and one German *Schütz* policeman went to the village and arrested the whole family in retaliation for the

freed Hutsul man. The liberated Hutsul assaulted the Ukrainian and the German policeman, killing the Ukrainian, wounding the German, and 'liberating' his own family. In the end, the Gestapo and the *Schutzpolizei* came and started a 'pacifying operation' in the village, burning three homes. A girl working in a nearby field saw the fire and came running — one of the blazing houses belonged to her family. She burst in on the scene crying, so much so that the authorities had to drag her inside a neighboring building for questioning. There she was beaten up, led out into the yard and thrown into the fire. She jumped out, but was thrown in again, where she burned to death."

Such atrocities were the rule rather than the exception, as numerous facts show. At present, similar "incidents" are recalled by nationalists who served in the SS division.

The same Veryha wrote in the magazine *Visti kombatanta* (No. 4, 1977):

"On May 10, 1943, volunteers enlisting in the Halychyna Division were registered in the township of Tovste (formerly in the district of Zalishchiki, Ternopil Region — V. S.)... I also made up my mind to enlist...

"Medical checkups and generally the draft commission for the Halychyna Division began on Sunday, April 8... I was given a clean bill of health... and then went to church... Some time toward the end of the service, people at the church heard gunfire outside. German soldiers of the *Sonderdienst* (Special Service) materialized in the church doorway, forbidding anyone to leave. Several minutes later, the shooting stopped and we were let out...

"Upon leaving the church, we found out that the Germans had made another roundup in the Jewish ghetto. Several young Jews had tried to escape and the Germans had shot them down in the street. On my way home from church, I saw two young Jews lying dead on the blood-stained stones of the sidewalk. I felt oppressed at the sight...

"At that time, it had become known that the Germans shot Jews and any Ukrainians they caught bringing food to Jewish ghettos."

Both the entry in the division's "Chronicles" and Veryha's account testify that before the "volunteers" in Kolomiya Region and the province of Zalishchiki were sent to the SS division, they were given a vivid demonstration of exactly what their duties would be like in the nearest future. Indeed, before long such "pacifying" actions became a daily event for every Halychyna soldier. As for Veryha, he "felt oppressed at the sight." Nothing more. He knew why he talked others into enlisting in the division, what they would do there, and he enlisted himself. Lessons in atrocity, however, sobered many of those others to the horrifying reality. Subsequent entries in the "Chronicles," made that same day (October 14, 1943), show that almost three times fewer "volunteers" left Kolomiya District than had been planned.

The "Chronicles" also provides a kind of summary of the six-month enlistment campaign.

"October 14, Kolomiya.

"Yesterday, the representative of the Military Council of the Halychyna Division who had led a convoy of volunteers from this district, returned. He gave me the following data. A total

of 2,545 men had to be dispatched from this locality as volunteers. Only 967 departed. These were sent to such places as Bayon, Gamba, and Ustaritz (all located in the vicinity of Biarritz *) where our volunteers were to man the 7th Regiment, then under formation...

"Lviv.

"On October 22, instead of the 1,550 enlisted volunteers, some 1,200 left Stanislav District for the Halychyna Division. Another 800 men departed from Kolomiya District, headed for Southern France as *Nachzügler*. On October 22, Yaroslav District yielded some 400 men, rather than the expected 800...

"The following is accurate information concerning the volunteers:

"Enlistees	80,000
Signed up for medical checkups	53,000
Reported for med. checkup . . .	42,000
...Summons for duty sent out to	25,000
Drafted	19,047
Reported for duty	13,245
Missing	
Men sent home from camps for medical reasons	1,487
Available manpower under training	11,758
Men to be called up between 1-XI and 13-XI	6,150
Those drafted from Lviv	403...

"November 4, Lviv.

"Last night, volunteers of the Halychyna Division left for training at *Heidelager*:

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* Further on, the "chronicler" corrects himself to the effect that "Bayonne and Cambo are in the Basque province"

"1. 90 men should have been sent from Rava-Ruska; only 34 went.

"2. 130 men were to go from Brody; 65 went.

"3. 90 should have gone from Kamyanka-Strumylivska; only one man did (because the departure of the rest is scheduled for 4-XI).

"4. 120 were to go from Peremishlyani; 51 went.

"5. All 18 men expected from the rural suburbs of Lviv went.

"6. All 9 men set out from various other localities.

"No volunteers came from Hlyniani, because... they received a telegram from someone signing it 'Military Council' and instructing 'Departure of volunteers to be postponed...'"

In other words, after much juggling with four and even five-digit numbers of volunteers in which the SS nationalist "historians" indulged (and still do) the end result, a grand total of 11,758 future SS men was registered early in November 1943. Those were people undergoing combat and special, subversive training at *Heidelager* camps and regular Nazi espionage schools under the guidance of German specialists.

X. THE DIVISION'S VARIOUS "IDENTITIES"

Starting the day the Nazi command resolved to set up the Halychyna Division and until now, nationalist hacks have constantly varied the name of this SS combat formation. Quite often,

they have omitted that it actually belonged to the *Waffen SS*. Thus, some persist in claiming that it was the "First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army" (lst UD UNA), others refer to it as the "lst UD UNA under the name Halychyna." The surviving Ukrainian Nazis of this division have presently joined together in what is known as the Brotherhood of Veterans of the lst UD UNA.

The explanation, nevertheless, turns out to be rather unsophisticated. The International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg recognized the SS — both its "Black" and the *Waffen SS* divisions — as criminal bodies, so today former SS men, all of whom are war criminals, do not always have the nerve to advertise their sinister past. And yet, there appear to exist especially hardened people, former SS thugs, who even keep their *Schutzstaffel* uniforms and Third Reich military decorations — crosses, medals, etc. Among their advocates is Ivan (John) Kedrin-Rudnitsky, formerly a member of the division's Military Council to whom US authorities later magnanimously granted residence on American soil. In *Visti kombatanta* (No. 5-6, 1968), he wrote: "One must not feel ashamed of, or leave in sealed, dusty archives, the name Halychyna Division or the appellation *Grenadieren Division*, or even that of '14th Galician Volunteer SS Infantry Division' which was sometimes used by the Military Council."

Still, even as the recruiters of the Military Council and the Ukrainian Central Committee kept themselves busy furnishing manpower, they did their best to obscure the actual essence of that division.

Schütze Division is the German for "Rifle (Infantry) Division," so the word *Schütze* was left out of the division's name (incidentally, the appellation in question was an unofficial one), because it sounded reminiscent of the Riflemen of the Sich *(Sichovi Strilci)* — the Ukrainian units of the Austro-Hungarian Army which were active during WWI.

Those *riflemen* covered themselves with eternal shame by collaborating with foreign intelligence services and other deeds directed against their own people. After Austro-Hungary collapsed, they sided with the counterrevolutionary *Tsentralna Rada* and became a component of the armed contingents of the Ukrainian National Republic, until the latter was disbanded by the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers.

The *Sichovi Strilci's* shameful history, nevertheless, did not upset the "scrupulous" sentiments of the SS brass. The latter wanted to conceal, for the time being, the division's affiliation to the *Schutzstaffel* and to draw into its ranks at least some "volunteers," so they were prepared to use even the myth that the division was a successor to the *Sichovi Strilci* as a "front."

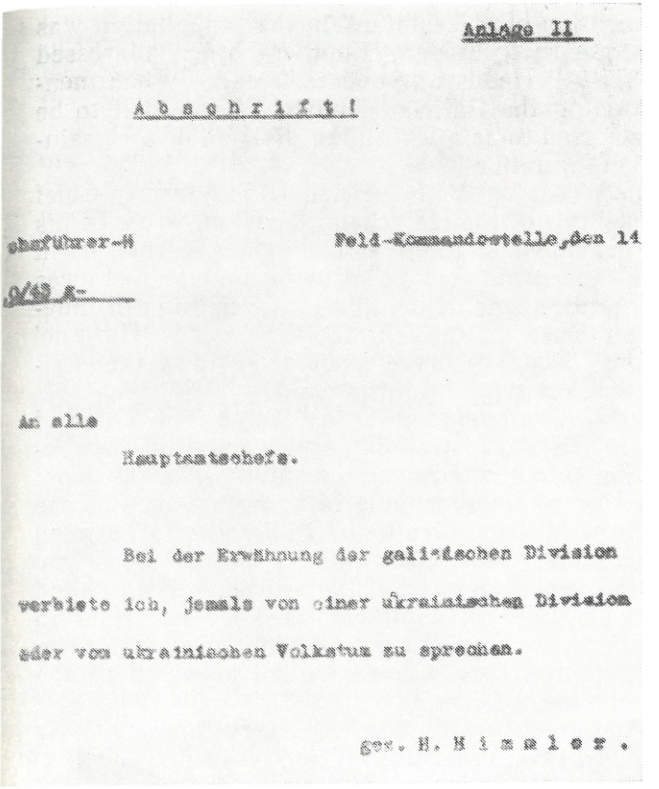
From the documents quoted above, it is obvious that both the division's Military Council and the Ukrainian Central Committee used the *double-entendre* SS Infantry Halychyna Division throughout the enlistment-propaganda campaign and took every opportunity to draw an analogy between it and the Riflemen of the Sich, the Ukrainian Galician Army and other "Ukrainian" combat formations of the past. It

was doubtless for propaganda purposes that the recruiters came up with the "SS Infantry Halychyna Division," followed by the "Ukrainian Halychyna Division," and even by simply the "Galician Division."

At the ceremony of its initiation, it received the name "14th Volunteer SS Halychyna Infantry Division." The German commanding officers were, however, loath to call it one *(SS Freiwillige Division)*, preferring what they thought — and not without reason — was a more accurate definition: *SS Schütze Division* ("SS Infantry Division"). This gave the Military Council and UCC the excuse to call it the "SS Infantry (Riflemen's) Division" as well, laying a mental bridge stretching back to the Ukrainian Riflemen of the Sich.

Generally, there existed three categories of foreign legions within the *Waffen SS*. The first was made up of military formations manned by people from countries considered as belonging to the Nordic race. These were known as the "German" combat units of the SS divisions that had been formed using such contingents and officially identified as "volunteer divisions of the SS."

By analogy with these "privileged" divisions (e. g., *Nordland, Langemark, Wallonia,* etc.), the "Galician Division" became known as the *SS Freiwillige Division* — a hint at the Nazi claim that Galicia (Halychyna) had belonged to the Third Reich for the past 150 years. Nevertheless, the SS Halychyna Division was not included in the first, "German," category of SS divisions, but in the second, less important one which consisted of "divisions of the SS troops,"



Anlage II

A b s c h r i f t !

chsführer-H Feld-Kommandostelle, den 14

0/43 g-

An alle

Hauptamtschefs.

Bei der Erwähnung der galizischen Division verbiete ich, jemals von einer ukrainischen Division oder vom ukrainischen Volkstum zu sprechen.

gez. H. H i m m l e r .

Himmler's order prohibiting the use of the word "Ukrainian" in the division's name

manned by non-Germans. On July 14, 1943, SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler endorsed a directive giving it its official name: "14th Volunteer SS Halychyna Infantry Division." Any

mention of "Ukrainian" in that appellation was explicitly forbidden. Himmler's order, addressed "To All Heads of Services," read: "When mentioning the Galician Division, I forbid it to be referred to as a Ukrainian division or a Ukrainian formation."

SS Major Wolf Dietrich Haike, former Chief of Staff of the Halychyna Division, wrote in his memoirs after the war: "Himmler warned us in no uncertain terms that under no circumstances could anyone in the division ever think of independence for the Ukraine. The words 'Ukraine' or 'Ukrainian' were forbidden within the division, on pain of punishment."

SS Brigadeführer Otto Wächter, Governor of the District of Galicia, issued a similar instruction for the German recruiters: "...you must avoid phrases capable of bringing about some form of fraternization *(Bruderschaft)* between Germans and Ukrainians. Neither must you create the impression that we have been called upon to help the Ukrainians. Do not refer to Ukrainians as our allies. You must tell them only that they will be valued as much as the German soldiers."

Himmler and Wächter were unswervingly putting into practice Hitler's decision, and that of the Nazi command, whereby Galicia was to be separated, estranged from the Ukraine, and turned into a German colony. From the very beginning they had ensured themselves against any possible accusations of a friendly attitude toward the Ukrainians. Even in 1943, when the Wehrmacht forces were gradually being driven out of the occupied territories, the SS leaders made the only concession by promising the

Ukrainians lured on or forced into the ranks of that Galician division that "they will be valued as much as the German soldiers." What they needed was cannon fodder, nothing else.

At the same time, the Nazis — Wächter, for one — shut their eyes to the "independent" mood of the nationalists, since whatever they said or wrote to this end served the interests of the Third Reich. In his "Appeal to Ukrainian Citizens and the Younger Generation," UCC Chairman Kubijovych juggled with phrases like "creation of a separate Ukrainian volunteer combat formation," "national pride," and "national concerns." All this was done to draw volunteers to the SS division, and to destroy "Jews and Bolsheviks." Wächter taught his subordinates that, while following and upholding the firm Nazi line, nothing negative should be said about the aspiration of the Galician Ukrainians for State independence..." * In other words, they would be allowed to talk all they wanted so long as they were doing what they were expected to accomplish.

After the situation at the Eastern Front had worsened for the Wehrmacht and the Soviet troops had dealt a shattering blow to the "14th Volunteer SS Halychyna Infantry Division" (July 1944), what was left of the latter was reorganized — or, rather, formed anew — and named the "14th Grenadieren Waffen SS Division (Galician No. 1)," like other such SS divisions: the 21st SS *Skanderberg* Chasseur Division (Albanian No. 1), the 22nd SS *Kama* Chasseur Division (Croatian No. 2), the 33rd

* Quoted from Wächter's instructions for the Halychyna recruiters

SS *Charlemagne* Infantry Division (French No. 1), etc. Shedding all pretense at manning the SS Halychyna Division with "volunteers," the word *Freiwillige* was also dropped from its designation.

The newly formed division lacked the number of Galicians it had had back in 1943. Now it included people from various regions of the Ukraine, plus collaborators from other European countries still under Nazi occupation. Bearing this in mind, SS Reichsführer Himmler signed an order (November 17, 1944) whereby what had been the *14. Grenadieren Waffen SS Division (Galizien No. 1)* was henceforth to be known as the *14. Grenadieren Waffen SS Division (Ukrainische No. 1)*.

OUN's theoreticians and other Ukrainian nationalists have since tried to interpret this directive of the SS Reichsführer as the birth of the "1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army," despite the irrefutable fact that the division in question received this identity in April 24, 1945, several weeks prior to the end of WWII. What is more, the reason behind this "new identity" was to prevent the Western Allies from finding out about the division's SS connections at a time when the Halychyna command was already rehearsing the farce of laying down arms at the Allies' feet.

XI. SENDING RECRUITS FOR TRAINING

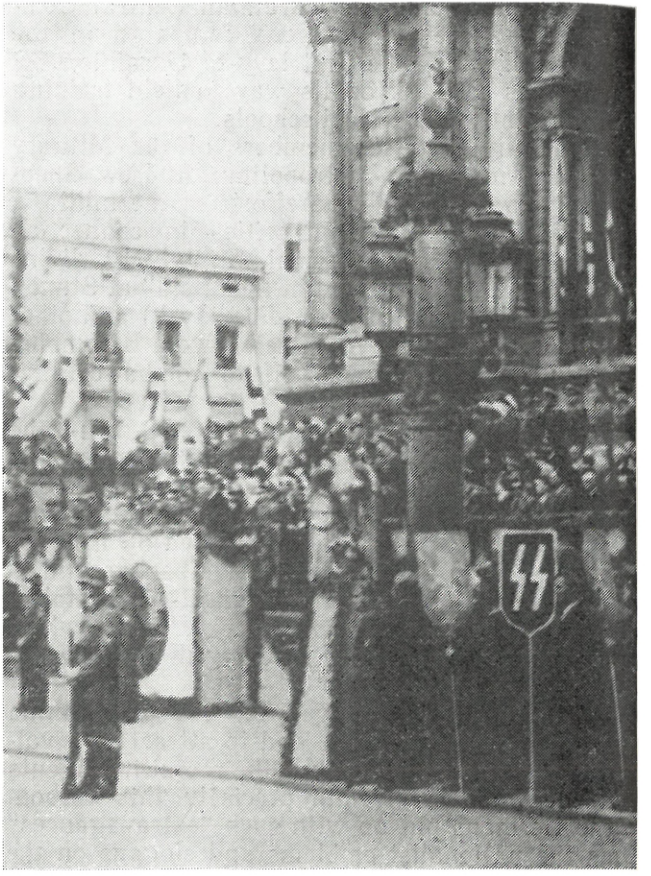
After they had managed to produce a more or less adequate quantity of "volunteers" for the SS Halychyna Division, its brass — the Mil-

itary Council and the Ukrainian Central Committee — staged a pompous campaign in the course of which the first levy of Ukrainian SS men was seen off on its way to field training camps and special Nazi schools.

On July 8, 1943, members of the Military Council met with Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky to coordinate the efforts of the military, religious and civil authorities in connection with the forthcoming ritual. On July 10, divine services were conducted in the "field" at Stanislav (now the city of Ivano-Frankivsk) and other points where the "volunteers" were assembled prior to being shipped off to combat-drilling centers.

On July 16-18, the Ukrainian SS-men-to-be took part in military parades and were ceremoniously seen off. The most pompous ceremony took place in Lviv. The trim rows of recruits standing stiffly at attention boasted SS insignia and a golden lion against a blue background — the emblem of the SS Halychyna Division taken from the ancient coat of arms of Lviv — which decorated the chevrons of every man of the division.

This farce was staged for the propaganda effect it would produce and to attract new volunteers to the division, for the recruiting agents needed them badly. For precisely this reason, the Germans put up with such "extravagances" as the nationalist emblems and slogans on the railroad cars carrying the recruits. Thus, besides the stenciled SS design, there were the chalk sketches of the nationalist *tryzub* (trident) and caricatures of Jews and Bolsheviks, whom both the Nazis and the Ukrainian nationalists



SS-men-to-be leaving for training

had proclaimed their "number one enemy," as well as pompous mottos of the *Drang-nach-Osten* type, etc.

The first levies of recruits were sent from Lviv to Brno (Czechoslovakia) or to the assembly-transit point at the *Heidelager* not far from the Polish city of Dębica on July 18-20.

Once these trainloads reached the camps, the SS command enforced what they regarded as proper order. No one could wear chevrons with the Galician (Lviv) lion, and the German language was henceforth to be regarded as the only accepted means of oral communication between the officers and everyone under them (in a number of cases, a variety of whistled commands were substituted). The German instructing officers and the callous, tight-fisted *Feldwebel* sergeants major established control over the recruits. Himmler's directive (July 14, 1943) forbade anyone to refer to the SS Halychyna Division as a Ukrainian combat unit or ever to use the words "Ukrainian formation."

For the smallest breach of discipline or disloyal attitude to a German commanding officer (each of the latter painstakingly abided by the Nazi instruction warning against the *Bruderschaft*), a division soldier was subject to quite humiliating and severe punishments; he could be even put before a firing squad with the rest of his mates lined up to witness the execution and learn their lesson. At one time, there was much desertion from the division. A former recruit, picked up in Snyatyn District (Stanislav Region), later testified that during the drilling at the *Heidelager* in Dębica, 15 men from his

company alone were shot for attempted desertion.

The transformation of the "Galician Division" into a purely SS combat unit, without any "national sentiments," was also facilitated by the general atmosphere of total oppression prevalent in the Nazi-occupied territories. After proclaiming Galicia a land that had for 150 years been an "inseparable part" of Germany, the occupiers tried to brainwash its residents to deny them any national consciousness. Any proliferation of works by Ukrainian literary classics was banned, let alone Soviet authors.

On October 14, 1943, the SS division's "chronicler" made the following entry after visiting Kolomiya, Stanislav Region:

"I was buying books for our volunteers at the camps when I found out that the Propaganda (Ministry — V. S.) had banned the sale of the following publications:

"(1) Shevchenko's *Kobzar*;

(2) a booklet on Shevchenko's life;

(3) any printed matter dealing with Ukrainian history;

(4) Yanovsky's *The Four Sabers*."

The occupiers thought the populace of the Nazi-sired District of Galicia should be content with the German-language Lviv-based newspaper *Lemberger Zeitung*, and several other pro-Nazi Ukrainian periodicals.

XII. SS SCHOOLS

The best-trained volunteers of the SS Halychyna Division who had proved their faithfulness to the Third Reich were sent to Nazi military colleges to become commanding officers of the SS upon graduation. Addressing the *Waffen SS Division "Galizien"* commanding officers on May 17, 1944, SS Reichsführer Himmler declared: "Two hundred and fifty men of this division have been sent to study at officers' training schools. I am determined to continue to select the best and most capable individuals from among the Galician youth and encourage their efforts along these lines. I am gratified and take special pride in everyone from your ranks who has become an officer and a new member of the European fraternity of the *Waffen SS* divisions."

Still, facts quickly dispelled the rhetorical mist of Himmler's promise to support "the best and most capable" candidates. An entry in the "Chronicles of the SS Infantry Halychyna Division" has it that Colonel V. Yevtymovych of the division's Military Council received a letter from a friend of his who had been sent to one such school. The "chronicler" quotes from that letter:

"October 20, 1943.

"My Dear Colonel:

"As usual, my letter is strictly personal, meant for your eyes only, but please believe me that it almost entirely reflects the thoughts and feelings of more than a hundred men (including sergeants) who are severely downtrodden and utterly God-forsaken...

"All of us are treated as though we were insane. There is nobody to turn to for advice — it's as though we were in prison. I wouldn't the least be surprised if rather than getting our officer's commission we don't end up behind barbed wire as victims of yet another (Nazi) action.' At first, we thought this was just the way things should be handled, but after the (future) 'commanding officers' have been having to wash their own linen for three months without a bar of soap anywhere to be found, when one hasn't been able to buy a Gillette razor blade anywhere (life is made up of trifles), I can tell you that I've had about all I can take. As a 'young officer' — or, rather, as a cadet — I never experienced a hundredth part of the humiliation and lack of basic amenities I am suffering now, though I am well advanced in years. Worst of all is the constant hunger and the absence of cigarettes. On top of everything else, though in poor physical shape, I have to live up to my reputation as a good serviceman while doing this lousy slave labor. We don't have a single handkerchief among us (which isn't a trifle inconvenience, even for a recruit!) or adequate marching boots. We attend training sessions as though we were beggars, wearing summer shoes — and this when November is practically at our doorstep: after all, I have forty-seven years of 'happy life' behind me. In short, if things keep on this way, I'm not sure I won't pull some crazy stunt. Again, they think of me here as one of the best officers, so if I do, I won't be the only one to feel ashamed of myself afterward. I only hope that my appeal will reach the right address and that they (the Nazi

command) will finally take an interest in our lot. It's high time they stopped yapping about our 'anarchy,' lack of 'staying power' and all that... I am sure you will pull the right strings in the right places.

"Faithfully yours,
(signed) A. Denysenko-Sulyma.
Pikowitz bei Prag."

Such was the situation with the future SS officers. Much worse, of course, was the attitude of the German instructors and quartermasters toward the peasant countryfolk — as the Ukrainian officers called their own rank and file subordinates. The Nazis remained inherently scornful of all those they looked down on as "non-Aryans." They used the training period of the SS men from the "Galician Division" to drill the "volunteers" until they became obedient robots, ready to carry out any order of the Führer, the SS Reichsführer or their immediate superiors without thinking even once.

Simultaneously, thousands of men selected for the SS Halychyna Division became the fertile soil, yielding cadres for the Abwehr and other Nazi German intelligence and counterintelligence agencies. Their chiefs especially valued characters who had actually enlisted in the division of their own accord. Many of these were sent to spy schools and never returned to Halychyna.

There were other schools where a recruit would train for 4-8 months, which graduated not ordinary soldiers but future spies and saboteurs to be used on special missions behind the Soviet lines, especially in localities where they could put their knowledge of the terrain and

"local color" to the best advantage. Such schools functioned in Germany and Nazi-occupied France, Czechoslovakia and Poland. They were officially known as field engineering or artillery schools, but their students were taught to collect intelligence on Soviet Army weaponry. They were also trained as radio operators and taught how to carry out subversion.

Described below are several of these "field engineering" schools.

One was organized in a Hamburg suburb in October 1943. It was located in an old three-storied building and enrolled a total of 180 men from the *Heidelager* near Dębica. Major Baumann headed the school and *Oberleutnant* Willgeim was his second in command. In March 1944, the students were transferred to Neuhammer * and attached to the 14th Scout Battalion of the Halychyna Division.

The school in Karlsruhe remained operational from November 1943 till March 1944. It trained 100 men who were later attached to the 14th Scout Battalion.

A school functioned in Koblenz from December 1943 to March 1944. It was located on the premises of the army barracks, on the Rhein. A total of 150 persons undertook full-length training courses. Upon graduation, they were sent to the 14th Scout Battalion to continue service.

In Pobern a school was set up in late 1943 and operated until March 1944. Its graduates

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* German name of the Polish town of Swiętoszów

were also attached to the 14th Scout Battalion of the SS Halychyna Division.

Apart from German career officers, some ranking OUN members whose loyalty to the Third Reich was unquestioned held command posts in that particular battalion.

Who is who

IVAN NEBOLA

Ivan Nebola, a veteran OUN affiliate, a professional policeman with a diploma and an enviable service record, was appointed as one of the officers in charge of intelligence at the SS Halychyna Division.

He was born in 1911, at the village of Teresva, Mukacheve Province (currently Tyachiv District) in Transcarpathia. He spent some time working as a schoolteacher. In 1938-1939, during the brief period of existence of the nationalist "Government of Autonomous Subcarpathian Ruthenia" and the "Administration of the Independent Carpatho-Ukraine," Nebola was among the organizers of the "paramilitary body" of *Karpatska Sich* in Tyachiv District.

In 1939, Nebola went to Yugoslavia and then to Austria where he graduated from a Nazi officers' training school. After graduation, he was sent to Germany to be attached to the "Ukrainian Company" the Nazis had set up prior to their treacherous invasion of the Soviet Union. Early in WWII, Nebola turned up in Lviv where he was placed at the head of the 1st Commissariat of the Ukrainian Police. Under his com-

mand, that police force engaged in manhunts, the details of which later became public knowledge from the captured records of the 1st Commissariat. These documents shed light on a variety of hair-raising accounts of killing people of Jewish parentage.

Nebola was merciless toward whoever fell into his hands. Even the policemen under his command had reason to complain about his cruelty and bloodthirstiness. Two men born in Bukovina he handed over to the Gestapo on charges of conspiring with Jews and letting them out of the ghetto. When policeman Piatnytsia stated later that he didn't care much for the manner in which Nazi authorities were running things, Nebola ordered him arrested and sent to the Gestapo where the man was shot. The policemen hated Nebola for his cruel attitude toward them, and once they ambushed their superior and roughed him up so thoroughly he had to spend a long time in the hospital.

When the SS Halychyna Division was formed, Ivan Nebola found himself transferred to its Intelligence Department, where he remained for practically as long as the division was operational. After the war, Nebola took up residence in West Germany and headed the OUN agency in Munich for a number of years. In 1952, he was elected Chairman of the Association of Ukrainian War Invalids' Supreme Council, but several years later he was dismissed for embezzling funds. Thus ended the "political career" of Ivan Nebola, police commissioner, officer of the SS Halychyna Division, war criminal and thief.

* * *

Graduates of Nazi spy schools in Hamburg and elsewhere were subsequently actively used by the SS and Abwehr for secret missions in the Soviet rear. They were also sent across the front line to carry out subversive operations in areas from which the Nazis had been forced to retreat. There they put into practice the Wehrmacht command's barbarous instruction to leave behind nothing but scorched earth.

Obviously, the "field engineering" schools put out efficient specialists for the SS Halychyna Division's Scout Battalion. After graduation, these "engineers" were sent to the Soviet Army rear in groups of up to 10 men each on reconnaissance missions. As the Wehrmacht continued to retreat, teams of specially trained saboteurs were left in Lviv and Ternopil regions where they mined and blew up bridges, warehouses, buildings and whole villages. Previously, we have mentioned Stepan (Stephen) Hoyko, a graduate of such a school in Hamburg who personally demolished 40 buildings in Zolochiv. He and his group mined 100 structures in Ternopil and took part in the total destruction of Olesko, Yaseniv, Chekhiv and Busk. The schools in Hamburg alone prepared 180 saboteurs for the SS Halychyna Division.

From December 1943 to March 1944, a military communications school functioned in Osnabrück (Germany) where 70 "students" were trained not only as telephone operators but were also taught to handle radio stations of the *Berta, Dowa, Stovosender* and other military types.

Other similar clandestine training centers — known as "artillery schools" — existed from October-December 1943 to February-March 1944 in the German town of Oldenburg (attendance: 250; head of school: Major Melzer), in Porzic, Czechoslovakia (200 "students"), and in Torbais, France. In Torbais, future SS men were accommodated in a former POW camp. The division's "volunteers" who had arrived first and considered themselves "old-timers" told the newcomers that some 13,000 POWs had been shot or died of hunger in that camp, and showed them the fresh graves.

The SS school in Torbais enrolled not only recruits. One of the black-uniformed men of the 9th Company under the command of *SS Hauptsturmführer* Zajetz was Avhustinovich, former resident of Horodenka (Stanislav Region). He bragged that he had taken part in the extermination of Jews in Lviv, and that he had shot Jews down in the vicinity of Pidzamche, near Lviv.

According to the information provided by A. Bisanz, Chairman of the division's Military Council, Yu. Tys-Krochmaliuk, member of the Council, other division members, and foreign researchers, close to 5,000 "volunteers" of the SS Halychyna Division (including those who served on the Nazi police forces) underwent combat training in France. Among the trainees, this information stresses, were "police regiments," meant for a "police division." It was only later that the Nazi command — specifically Himmler — thought it expedient to organize an SS division to which policemen trained in France were attached.

That special importance was attached to these policemen is evident from the fact that in November 1943 Otto Wächter, Governor of the District of Galicia, A. Bisanz, Chairman of Halychyna's Military Council, and Council member L. Makarushka made a trip to France to receive the oath of allegiance from the men there. After a "field" (open-air) divine service was celebrated and the policemen swore allegiance to Adolf Hitler, the floor was taken by Governor Wächter who said, in part: "You have sworn an oath of allegiance to Adolf Hitler today, so all of you volunteers from Galicia are now twice or even three times indebted to the Führer... you are under obligation to Adolf Hitler... as the Führer and Great Commander of the German Forces..., you are under obligation to Adolf Hitler as the Führer of the Reich..., and as the Führer of a new Europe..."

The *Heidelager* near Dębica played a special role in the biography of the SS Halychyna Division. Here the newly arrived "volunteers" underwent a two-week quarantine, received their uniforms, and here separate units were sworn in and then distributed among other units and training centers. The nature of the oath they pledged is clear from an article included in the wall newspaper *Surmy hraiyut* (Bugles Are Blowing) that was published at the *Heidelager*. "On Sunday, August 29," the article noted, "volunteers at the *Heidelager* will swear allegiance in their struggle against the Bolsheviks, while pledging loyalty to Adolf Hitler, the Führer and Commander-in-Chief in the ongoing struggle."

At other such camps and schools, future SS men were sworn in and the Nazi commanding

officers varying of military rank and position kept hammering into the heads of the Galician "volunteers" that by swearing allegiance to Hitler, they were taking on an obligation that would last as long as they lived. The "volunteers" absorbed the news thoughtlessly shouting *Heil Hitler*! To the accompaniment of drums and brass bands playing *Deutschland über alles* and *Horst Wessel Lied*, the newly initiated SS Galician division men pledged to join in a single, united front with the Wehrmacht forces to combat "Jewry and the Bolsheviks."

A number of those SS men are faithful to their oath of allegiance to Hitler even now. The Toronto-centered magazine *Visti kombatanta* (Canada) reported that on February 27, 1977, a "festive meeting" of the SS Halychyna Division veterans took place at the Uniate Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Montreal. "A detail of former servicemen of the division (80 men) marched into the church wearing their uniforms and carrying their banner," the magazine reported.

In 1943, W. Laba, future chaplain of the *Waffen SS Galizien Division*, delivered a sermon on the festivities connected with the proclamation of the division. He assured the Nazis that the "Ukrainian soldiers will also have a part in securing the victory, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the heroic German warriors," for "such is the will of Our Lord today." Even the service conducted at the Church of the Assumption was planned by Metropolitan Yaroslav Haimanovych, former SS man of the Halychyna Division. During the most important event of the "festivities" — the banquet, opened by

"Lubomir Slyvynsky, the division's ensign and standard-bearer who solemnly carried the flag into the church to the rhythm of the Division March" — the floor was taken by Joseph Vinnytsky, one-time Nazi policeman, later promoted to the rank of *SS Sturmbannführer, Waffen SS Galizien Division.* According to the press account, Vinnytsky stressed in his speech: "Nobody has relieved us of the oath we swore during the war. We former division soldiers must not forget this."

One-time SS men are constantly demonstrating their faithfulness to the Nazi oath in other countries as well. For example, on April 24, 1983, the surviving SS Halychyna Division veterans in Philadelphia marked the "40th anniversary of the creation and struggle" of the division. On that occasion, Metropolitan Stephen (Stepan) Sulyk celebrated an "archpriest's liturgy." On May 5, 1983, the newspaper *Svoboda* reported that "long ranks of the division's veterans" there "rallied round the division's standard..." and "took part in divine ceremonies." A special "dinner party" was thrown, during which former SS man Michael Lishchynsky delivered a "solemn address." Afterward, the floor was given to other surviving affiliates of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and other militant organizations, of which there are quite a few in the United States today.

All these "masked balls" were staged to the accompaniment of the Division March and nostalgic ministrations before the swastika-bearing altar, the traditional SS "skull and crossbones" and the Ukrainian nationalist *tryzub* (trident) emblems. There were also speeches by former

SS Sturmbannführers and other equally cynical farces held openly before the unperturbed eyes of the enforcers of law and order. These outrageous acts offend Canadians as much as they do people residing elsewhere in the West — especially those who worked to bring the victory over Nazism during WWII and to defeat the Third Reich, along with its SS and other Nazi institutions.

Incidentally, the issue of *Visti kombatanta* which described the "jubilee assembly" and the "festivities" in Montreal also carried the "Communique of the Committee for Celebrations of Especially Memorable Occasions of the 1st UD UNA." This document stated that SS insignia and decorations were still "in fashion" among surviving division veterans, letting it be known that new emblems and decorations were being produced or on sale. Among other things, the "Communique" stated:

"(3) A Small and a Large Cross as an addition to the Division Cross, to be worn on the lapel of a civilian jacket, will be issued...

"(5) Special certificates will be presented along with these decorations. Such a certificate will certify the recipient's military rank at the end of the war."

In other words, recipients of the Division Cross, while wearing this decoration on their lapels, were given the right to carry in their breast pockets certificates confirming their rank as *SS Scharführers, Sturmführers, Sturmbannführers,* etc.

XIII. "PRACTICE CLASSES": SHOOTINGS AND "PACIFYING ACTIONS"

One clandestine Nazi school was located in the village of Moderówka, in Jaslo District of Rzeszow Region (currently Krosno Region, Poland). A total of some 300 SS men from the Halychyna Division were enrolled there. Its principal was a German officer by the name of Spicki. The latter had never gone in for theory. From the outset of the school, he had done his best to accustom his charges to what was known as "practice classes," in executing Soviet POWs, as well as other civilians — people of Polish, Ukrainian, and Jewish parentage, and Gypsies. The SS men mastering this part of the curriculum were allotted room on the "proving ground" of the *Frontstalag* (Nazi camp for Soviet POWs located two kilometers from Moderówka at the village of Szebnie). The camp was operational from October 1941 to July 1944 with a break from August 1942 to March 1944 when its heinous business was taken over by a neighboring camp in Rymanow, also in Krosno Region. There was also the *Zwangsarbeitslager* forced labor camp which functioned from March 1943 to February 1944. Some of the Nazi trainees were used to reinforce the German units guarding the concentration camps in Szebnie.

Even though these camps had varying names, all of them were constructed to one end: that of putting human beings to death. Thus, the POW camps became suppliers for "medical experiments." From December 1941 to January

1942, between 5 and 7 thousand Soviet prisoners-of-war died of typhus in that camp which was also used for holding and exterminating Poles and Jews, for which purpose the camp was eventually expanded. Late in 1941, it received a shipment of more than 100 children aged from 5 to 15 from the School of the Michaelite Fathers. Shortly afterward, all the unfortunate children were shot in a forest not far from the village of Wawrzice. The same place was used by the Nazis to massacre people in 1943-1944.

The labor camp did not manufacture industrial products, but it was a scene of mass executions carried out by the Nazis. SS men from the Galician division took part in these atrocities, too. On November 6, 1943, for example, they helped shoot some 500 Jewish inmates in a forest near the village of Dobrucow. Camp inmates and residents of neighboring villages marked for execution (men, women and children) were driven to the forest, ordered to strip, and then shot. Their bodies were stacked and burned.

Cadets of the Halychyna school were involved in similar actions in the forest near Wawrzice where more than 100 innocent children had been put to death two years earlier.

Later, eyewitnesses from the populace stated that the SS men, drunk with the human blood they had spilled, as well as with the alcoholic beverages they had consumed in staggering quantities, held raucous parties, raped women and happily used the slightest excuse to pull the triggers of their guns. It was thus that they murdered Zygmund Rzeszewski, the local

school principal, and many others. The following is a typical episode.

On the evening of Sunday, December 26, 1943, a group of SS Halychyna Division cadets tried to force their way into a bar owned by Stanislaw Wojcikiewicz in the village of Moderówka. There they opened fire, wounding Waleria Hajdowa in the head and killing her mother. They led 17-year-old Tadeusz Hunja out of the house, and SS man Vladislav Slyviak shot him down.

Early in 1944, the SS school was transferred to the village of Iwonicze (Krosno Region). Still, its graduates did not return to the Halychyna Division. By that time, they had developed such prowess at shooting civilians and carrying out "pacifying actions" (i. e., Nazi-planned punitive missions against civilian residents and partisans) that the SS command thought it best to put them to use immediately in the Nazi contingents stationed in Poland, and later in Czechoslovakia. Their paths through these countries were marked by mutilated bodies and smoking ruins.

In April 1944, half the students of that school were engaged in combat against the partisans in the vicinity of Jasenice in the Region of Brzozuw. They lost 10 men.

On June 24, 1944, they shot 72 Poles in the forest of Hrabin, near Iwonicze. On June 30, they staged an atrocious reprisal against the residents of Iwonicze, which was supervized by Volodymyr Najda, one of the SS commanding officers.

Najda was a veterinarian by profession, formerly a student at the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Seminary in Lviv. In Moderówka, he established

close contacts with the German officer in charge of the Nazi concentration camp at Szebnie and proved a dedicated Nazi collaborator. The Nazis, in turn, ensured him every possible type of support, so that before long, he became a major threat to the populace.

Wladyslaw Szarek, a resident of Moderówka, later testified to the cruelty with which Najda beat a woman because she had given a Jew who had been brought from the death camp at Szebnie as a slave laborer something to eat. In another case, Janina Pasterczykowa, also of Moderówka, tried to defend her mother whom Najda had hit. Janina was taken to the SS school where she was beaten so severely that the skin of her back cracked.

From Iwonicze, this unit of the SS Halychyna Division was sent to Košice in Czechoslovakia. When they crossed the border, the Galician SS men revolted against their German commanders (Najda took part in the mutiny as well). This marked the end of their SS career, because the Nazis never forgave their disobedience.

XIV. SS CORRESPONDENTS SCHOOL

Among the schools supplying manpower for the *Waffen SS* units, including the SS Halychyna Division, mention should be made of one specializing in "front-line journalism." The first batch of graduates — *Berichters*, as the division's polyglots called them — joined the *Waffen SS Galizien Division* in November 1943. On November 15, they were received by Wäch-

ter, Governor of the District of Galicia. The newspaper *Lvivski visti* wrote (November 18, 1943): "Monday, Dr. Wächter, Governor and *SS Brigadeführer* received 12 members of the SS Halychyna Division in the presence of *Ober-SS-und-Polizeiführer, SS Brigadeführer* Thier and Herr Bauer, Head of the Government. The volunteers had been summoned to the SS Department for Military Correspondents. They were attached to the SS *Standart* 'Kurt Egers.' This *Standart* is composed of all military correspondents of the *Waffen SS*. They have been united under this *Standart* only recently and the Führer has bestowed on it the name of Kurt Egers, a Panzer commander from its ranks who perished in the East."

Olexa Haj-Holovko was one of the Nazi-trained front-line correspondents, later appointed editor of the division's newspaper *Do boyu* (For Combat). He left for posterity a rather odious personal diary which reveals exactly what kind of "course" he took in journalism. It also reveals the true nature of its author, a senior propagandist and soldier raised in the best traditions of SS Halychyna Division. The diary covers a period from July 12, 1944 till the end of WWII. It offers a rather vivid picture of exactly how SS men like him were trained by German instructors.

Who is who

OLEXA HAJ-HOLOVKO

Olexa Haj-Holovko was born in 1910 in what used to be Kamyanets-Podilsky Gubernia in the Ukraine. He was in Lviv when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union.

On June 30, 1941, the Wehrmacht entered Lviv. That same day, in accordance with some of the plans drawn up at Berlin HQ, the Nazis appointed people to what became known as the Administration (Government) of the Western Ukrainian Lands, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, one of Stephen Bandera's truest associates. In that pseudo-administration, Olexa Haj-Holovko was made propaganda minister.

Stetsko's "administration" was disbanded in the first ten days of July 1941, but during its tenure in office, it had succeeded in carrying out a hair-raising pogrom, victimizing thousands of Ukrainians, Poles and Jews whose names had been included on the black lists of persons whose conduct and background were viewed as "undesirable" by the Third Reich, let alone Stetsko's "cabinet."

The pogrom started in Lviv: the murderers began by slaughtering world-famous scholars, scientists, and specialists who had proven their worth in various fields of science and technology.

Among the butchers directly involved in that pogrom were men and officers of the *Nachtigall* Battalion, set up by the Abwehr and the SS, and placed under the "immediate political control" of Herr Theodor Oberlender (later appoint-

Haj-Holovko's certificate as
"Schriftsteller"

ed to a ministerial post in the FRG administration of Konrad Adenauer). The battalion's first in command was a German officer by the name of A. Herzner who was assisted by Ukrainian nationalist *sotnyk* (captain) Roman Shukhevych (also a member of Stetsko's "government": second deputy to the war minister).

Below is a list of some of the many victims put to death by the *Nachtigall* thugs in accordance with "black lists" prepared well in advance.

Tadeusz Boj-Żelenski (Polish): "black list"

UKRAINISCHER HAUPTAUSSCHUSS IN G. G.
ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT UKRAINISCHER
SCHRIFTSTELLER IN LEMBERG

BESCHEINIGUNG Nr. 7

Wir bestätigen hiermit, dass der Schriftsteller (in)
Oleksa Haj-Holowko
wirklich das Mitglied der Arbeitsgemeinschaft
Ukrainischer Schriftsteller in Lemberg ist.
Ol. Haj-Holowko Vorsitzender:
Eingenhändige Unterschrift Sekretär:
Gültig bis 31. XII. 1943 Gültig bis 194
Sekretär Sekretär

No. 777; writer, put before a firing squad after being subjected to torture in which Mykola Lebed, Minister of Security in Stetsko's "government," took part.

Dmitro Mikhailenko (Ukrainian), No. 52; Professor of Egyptology; hanged.

Taras Maliarchuk (Ukrainian), No. 516; surgeon; drowned in a bathtub; his wife was raped in the presence of their children and then bayonetted; their 5-year-old daughter Maria was thrown out a window and their 3-year-old son Mikhailo was shot down with a small-caliber Browning pistol.

In the book *Pogromchik* (N. Y., 1976, p. 374), the author Saul S. Friedman writes:

"During the first three days of July 1941, the Nachtigall Battalion, composed almost entirely

of Ukrainians under the direction of the Gestapo, slaughtered seven thousand Jews in the vicinity of Lwów (Lemberg) *. Before their execution, Jewish professors, lawyers, and doctors were made to lick all the steps of four-story buildings and to carry garbage in their mouths from house to house. Then, forced to run a gauntlet of men wearing blue and gold armbands (the colors of the Petlurist Republic), they were bayonetted to death."

Neither was it coincidental that Haj-Holovko found himself among such members of the "government" as Stetsko, Lebed, Shukhevych, and others. He hated Jews as much as they did. After the war started, he even wrote these "poetic" — or, rather, fanatic, cannibalistic — lines:

May a hurricane... sweep the world
clean of the hateful Jews;
Death, formidable and wrathful,
has already sounded his trumpet,
He is towering over you, scythe in hand...
Because the damned Jews
Hung around the St. Sophia...

Haj-Holovko boasted other "virtues" that made him perfectly fit for the company; he was an inveterate anti-Sovietist, a hard drinker and a lecher. True, in February 1942, to cover up another scandalous love affair, he married a certain Olexandra Natalka Kusyk (she was expecting), but not for long.

The Germans gave him special training, and he became a war correspondent. Haj-Holovko worked for the SS subversive propaganda for-

* Respectively, the Polish and the German names of the Ukrainian city of Lviv

mation *Skorpion-Ost,* was a member of the *Standart* "Kurt Egers," and was even placed in command of the "Steel Cohort," set up after "Kurt Egers."

The "Steel Cohort" was officially identified as a "Literary and Artistic Combat Staff" which, in the words of its Declaration, united "soldiers of the Sword and the Word," and "soldiers of all the Ukrainian armed services fighting for a free and independent Ukrainian State." Further on, the Declaration cynically proclaimed the "Cohort" people as a "knightly" elite, compared to the mere mortals — all those "lackeys and muzhiks." In February 1945, Haj-Holovko was appointed Editor of the newspaper *Do boyu* (For Combat) and attached to the SS Halychyna Division.

After the war, aware that there was no way of hiding or denying his SS past, Haj-Holovko made an attempt to assume a new identity, as was the fashion with war criminals. It was thus that in June 1945 and for some time afterward, Haj-Holovko became Olexander Hajewych.

But the transformation didn't help. That same month Haj-Holovko-Olexander-Hajewych was arrested in Augsburg (Germany) on charges of war crimes while serving in the SS. On his way to prison, once they were out of town, he knocked out and strangled his American driver, jumped out of the car, and ran away, leaving behind his papers, among them his photos and his diary.

SS man Haj-Holovko tried to conceal his identity, assuming the name of Hajewych

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Für amtliche Vermerke

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Anmeldung bei der p

Am 15. Der

nach Innsbruck (Ort) (Kreis)

als Mieter - Untermieter - Schlafstelle - Dienst - Besuch - bei (Zutreffendes unterstreichen)

Letzte Wohnung Wien, Mariahilferstr. Straße Nr. 1 (Ort und Kreis, falls Ausland auch Staat)¹) Platz

1 Familiennamen (bei Frauen auch Geburtsname und gegebenenfalls Name aus der letzten früheren Ehe)	2 Vornamen (sämtliche, Rufname unterstreichen)	3 Familienstand (led., verh., verw., gesch.) bei bestehender Ehe: verh. seit	(genau tätigk ständ
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Aufenthalt b. 19.7.

Für amtliche Vermerke

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Anmeldung bei der po

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Am

nach Innsbruck (Ort) (Kreis)

als Mieter - Untermieter - Schlafstelle - Dienst - Besuch - bei (Zutreffendes unterstreichen)

Letzte Wohnung Krämsach Straße Nr. (Ort und Kreis, falls Ausland auch Staat)¹) Platz

1 Familiennamen (bei Frauen auch Geburtsname und gegebenenfalls Name aus der letzten früheren Ehe)	2 Vornamen (sämtliche, Rufname unterstreichen)	3 Familienstand (led., verh., verw., gesch.) bei bestehender Ehe: verh. seit	(genau tätigkeit ständig
Haj-Holowko	Alex.	ledig	Sch

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eilichen Meldebehörde
olizeipräsident
Innsbruck

Tagesstempel d. Meldebehörde

45 ist zugezogen

Maximilianstr. 35 Straße Platz Nr.
(Wohnung)

Der Polizeipräsident in Innsbruck 16. JUN. 1945 Ausgezogen Meldestelle

ls Mieter / Untermieter bei ..... oder vom Reichsarbeitsdienst / vom Wehrdienst

4 Beruf (Bezeichnung d. Berufs- und Angabe, ob selbst. Angestellter, Arbeiter usw.)	5 Geburts- Tag	Monat	Jahr	6 a) Geburtsort b) Kreis c) Staat (wenn Ausland)	7 a) Staatsangehörigkeit[2]) b) Ggf. Angabe, ob Jude oder Mischling
aeteur	12	10	1912	Sanok	Staatenlos

ilichen Meldebehörde
sident

Tagesstempel d. Meldebehörde

k ..... 19 45 ist zugezogen

aiser Josephstr 7 Straße Platz Nr.
(Wohnung)

Mieter / Untermieter bei ..... oder vom Reichsarbeitsdienst / vom Wehrdienst

4 Beruf (Bezeichnung d. Berufs- und Angabe, ob selbst. Angestellter, Arbeiter usw.)	5 Geburts- Tag	Monat	Jahr	6 a) Geburtsort b) Kreis c) Staat (wenn Ausland)	7 a) Staatsangehörigkeit[2]) b) Ggf. Angabe, ob Jude oder Mischling
ltsteller	12	8	1910	Pysowiwo	Staatenlos

In 1950, Haj-Holovko surfaced in Canada and worked as Secretary of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and as Editor of the League's official paper, *Ukrainskiy holos* (Winnipeg). He wrote several malignant pro-Nazi books and articles that were printed by various Ukrainian nationalist presses.

XV. EXCERPTS FROM HAJ-HOLOVKO'S DIARY

("I am already a real SS man...")

July 12, 1944. Arrived in Berlin with Z. Rubchak, V. Romakhniuk, Zenon Bardashevsky, Julian Vodonos and Georg Mykyta.

July 18, 1944. First day of training began.

July 19, 1944. Today I heard that the Bolsheviks are closing in on Lviv... In the evening I mailed a letter to Lesya telling her I had enlisted in the division.

July 20, 1944. It was announced over the radio today that there was an attempt on the Führer. 20 generals seem to have taken part in the conspiracy. The Führer appears to have been wounded.

It is also rumored that the Bolsheviks are six kilometers from Lviv. According to other sources, they have already reached Rohachka. I am not sure, because I neither listen to the radio nor read newspapers.

July 21, 1944. This morning, during the *Untericht, Rottenführer* Shnur discussed several topics connected with the attempt on the Führer.

July 26, 1944. In the evening, I learned that the Bolsheviks have seized Przemyśl. I don't know whether it is true. We had our traditional beer.

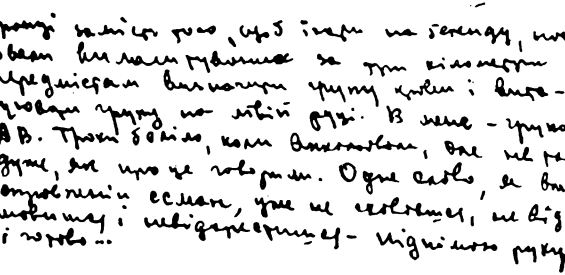
July 28, 1944. In the morning... we were marched to the movie hall where the *Unterscharführer* spoke on the subject of "SS Division."

I learned from Bilan that the *Bericht* had reported the seizure of Lviv. It is horrifying news. It is hard to believe. I was in Lviv only a fortnight ago... I wonder what will happen next.

July 29, 1944. Today, they gave us each a shot of vodka. We chipped in and got a bottle. In the evening, we found out that our Galician division was surrounded. We were scared. Three guys ran away. They barely made it, and told us about all this. The Soviets have many planes; this is what makes them so strong at the front. Rzeszów has been taken. Przemyśl has not been occupied as yet. We felt so depressed we drank vodka in the evening.

August 1, 1944. We were taken to the movie hall again. There, the aide-de-camp spoke again. His presentation captured the attention of those present. In talking about discipline, he gave us examples — that SS men could date girls whichever way and whenever they pleased...

August 2, 1944. In the morning... we were marched three kilometers out of town to have our blood types determined and be tattooed on the left arm. My type is AB. It hurt a little when they punctured the skin, but not as bad as some had said it would. In a word, I am now



Haj-Holovko: "I am now a real SS man..."

a real SS man, so that I can neither hide nor refute the fact — all I have to do is raise my arm...

August 3, 1944. Today, I am a *Stubendienst.* This means a janitor.

August 4, 1944. They are drilling us double-time. This is a fact beyond doubt...

August 10, 1944. The shooting * took place at about six. We were lined up in a broken quadrangle. "A dog dies like a dog." The command was given and 10 shots were fired. Everything happened as if in a dream. We had been wakened very early and right after the execution we began our exercises.

By the way, the mosquitos are simply murderous. We were kept at our exercises till 10 o'clock.

We had breakfast at 10. After breakfast, there was the *Untericht.* After that, we sang songs till dinner.

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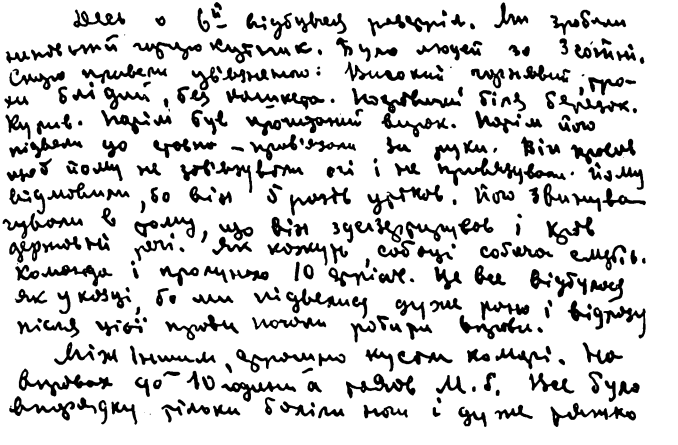
* Haj-Holovko refers to the execution of a deserter



In the evening, I had the traditional beer and visited the redhead, but discovered that she was Dutch. She wasn't as bad as I had thought she would be. That same evening, having cleaned the WC (as punishment for the stunt I had pulled), I fell alseep so fast I didn't even hear...

August 12, 1944. It's my birthday.

Before lunch, we were sworn in near HQ. After the *Obersturmführer*, we repeated the words of the oath of allegiance to Hitler and then sang songs. Well, we are real SS men.

September 1, 1944. We are positioned on top of a hill by a lake... We were ordered to dig antitank trenches, so we worked in a line. The trenches were ready somewhere by 8 o'clock. They were inspected by *Obersturmführers* Grenz and Enghel. My ditch was acknowledged as the

best, so they told me. *Obersturmführer* Berndt gave me a cigarette as a reward. Naturally, I thanked him.

P. S.— Paris was taken a week ago. In a bout with Grenz, during nighttime exercises, I got a bloody nose and a badly twisted neck...

September 5, 1944. I had two jobs to do this morning. I cleaned the washroom and the rooms occupied by the *Stabsscharführer.* I was summoned to Enghel's office. When I stepped into the room, I found *Stabsführer* Otto and Enghel there. Enghel gave me his shoes to shine and Otto stretched out his legs and I pulled off his boots.

"*Schnell...* Quick... understand?" said Enghel.

"*Jawohl!*" I replied and left the room.

In five minutes, I had shined both pairs. When I put the shoes on Enghel's feet, he thanked me.

September 6, 1944. I learned that the *Muscovites* * and Polacks are forbidden to wear the SS insignia and the crossbones. I even talked this over with a Muscovite at an outpost. He was quite angry about it, but let's face it: they did the right thing, because none of these Muscovites and Polacks are any good as SS men.

September 7, 1944. I have the *Flurdienst* duty. Cleaned the WC in the morning. I am very glad that I will be finished with this unpleasant work before long.

September 29, 1944. In the evening the guys went to see a show. We hit the bottle but good, thanks to Vuiko and Rainik. Consumed a liter

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* This is what the nationalists call any Russians, derogatorily

of vodka (there were four of us) and a bottle of cognac. Rainik got a letter from some bum who asked if he could enroll in the *Berichter* courses. We nearly split our sides laughing.

That night, Rainik brought up. Bryt (pale-faced and confused) followed suit. In my sleep, I must have shouted something about roughing somebody up, and Vuiko sang.

Sunday, October 8, 1944. The *Spinnapel* was held at about 11.30. It was to be the last *Spinnapel. Spis* walked by, seemingly in a good mood. Everything was in order.

At lunchtime, we were lined up in general formation, although some were reluctant to rub elbows with those miserable conscripts...

Rainik, Zajetz and the Lieutenant did not join the column but went to the mess hall separately. The Giraffe put their names down and they had to do the *Flurdienst.* Such were our first actions after finishing the *Ausbildung.*

October 15, 1944. We left around 3 o'clock.

Well, we are real soldiers now.

So much for the *Ausbildung.*

Wednesday, November 8... We have been assigned to the *Kampfpropaganda* in Cracow.

Tuesday, November 14. Around 12 o'clock *Spis* summoned the four of us to his office. Mykyta is being sent to *Vangschleise*, Vuiko is staying, Rokhmaniuk and I are to go to the *Skorpion-Ost* in Cracow.

Wednesday, the 15th. Leaving for Cracow. An alarm at the station.

Thursday, November 16, 1944.

1. Vovr. and Kravchyshyn gave me a lift in their car out to Wartberg where the *Skorpion-Ost* is stationed at the chateau.

2. At the entrance, I met *Spis* Rüne. He used to be a *spis* at the *Ekompanie.*

3. Getting papers signed at various departments.

4. Meeting with *Sturmbannführer* Miller. Conversation.

5. I am quartered in an 8-bed room downstairs.

November 17, 1944.

...4. Meeting with Stepanenko at the mess hall.

5. Moved to his room.

6. ...Worked till 12 o'clock. Manifesto. Movement round it.

7. Talked to Stepanenko.

November 18, 1944.

1. Talked to the *Sturmbannführer.* His questions. My recommendations and requests.

November 19, 1944.

1. Went to church with Stepanenko early in the morning.

2. Met some friends.

3. A date with Lesya... Talked to Stepanenko about Lesya.

November 22, 1944.

... 4. Talked to Lysiak. His informantion on the events.

December 5, 1944. Until 2 o'clock was busy working on the newspaper at the printshop.

December 6, 1944... Today, looking through the papers, I read in *Holos pravdy* that a Swedish astrologist and clairvoyant foretells: "In April 1945, the Germans will be able to use all of their armies in the east and will overcome the Bolsheviks in a matter of 15 months. The Jews will be driven out of Russia and the coun-

try will be divided into several State formations, built on the principles of national identity..."

Thursday, December 7, 1944. Miller told me this morning that the "Committee," the "Manifesto" or the "peoples of Russia" should not be mentioned in any future leaflets or newspaper articles as this would not be tolerated.

Today a UPA representative visited the *Skorpion-Ost*. He said that the Germans should make no mention of UPA at their briefings. The reason why is clear.

Friday, December 15, 1944. Miller informed us that a Ukrainian Committee had been set up in Berlin. It is headed by UNR's General Shandruk. Visited the office of *Do peremohy*, then went to see my father.

Sunday, December 17, 1944. Went downtown with Stepanenko...

At 12 o'clock went over to my father's. The three of us drank a liter of vodka... We rode to Wirtenberg. I fired my gun three times on the way there. Later, we drank at someone's birthday party at Stepanenko's place. Back home, I was plastered and hit the hay right away, because I had started seeing things.

The Germans have launched an offensive in the West. They are moving ahead effectively.

December 19, 1944. Drove to the city in the morning. Read a report in German on the radio. Went to the church but was late for the service. Dropped in at the "Kurt Egers" *Kommando*. Talked to Lysiak. I don't like the man. Like many other Galicians, his pettiness is stronger than patriotism.

Sunday, December 31, 1944. Stepanenko and I rang in the New Year in town. The party was

a bore; the halls were crowded with plebeians. We returned home around eight in the morning dead tired.

Still no news about the Ukrainian Committee.

Met with Yendyk. Went to a bar twice. We talked about Lesya. He said that Myhal and he had been to see her and she had called me a stoolpigeon and a smuggler.

January 2, 1945. Zhabotinsky married some Russian girl. Invited Stepanenko and me to the wedding. Stayed there till one in the morning. Had a lot to drink...

January 13, 1945. In the morning I drove over to Kolya Petr-ko's... Kolya and I went to Dziunia's. Picked up a couple of gals, then the four of us went over to Parkova St. Had a ball there till four in the morning. Yendyk was there, too.

January 16, 1945. Was at the Bogenstrasse. Talked to the *Unterscharführer*. Asked him whether I could get a truck to evacuate the family. Nothing doing. They could give me room for six on a train. Dad was out when I came. Found Lesya and Mom instead... Come to think of it, why should I bother my head about them? I could've got a car, but they don't deserve it. They wouldn't even thank me. Lesya was mad as hell. I had never seen her so brutal and disgusting. I told them I was leaving. Shook hands with my mother-in-law, kissed my son good-bye, telling him I'd never see him again. Wanted to shake hands with Lesya but she refused. The hell with her; she'll be sorry yet, whether I am alive or dead. I'd decided to quit...

Took a streetcar to the Zittelgasse. Lots of cars there. I was heading for Opeln, and Mykola

gave me a lift. We set off at ten, followed by a great many cars. Evacuation going full blast. As we reached the Rheinstrasse, Mykola suddenly said, "Look, there's your mother-in-law." Never thought I'd see the bitch again.

January 17, 1945. ... By approximately two o'clock we reached Opeln. A lot of guys from the *Volksturm* in the streets. They walk around armed but wear civilian clothes... Made Neisee at midnight. Spent the night on the 4th floor of an army barracks.

There were 5 of us in the car: Mykola, three Germans, and I.

January 19, 1945. Busy writing for the radio. Writing on my knees, I have to. In the evening, we were treated to some good soup. Street fighting in Cracow.

Saturday, January 20, 1945. Cracow has been taken. The Bolsheviks are advancing. We were keeping to our rooms. All of a sudden, two enormous explosions shook the house. In rushed Miller, his face covered with blood. What had happened? Explosions? A bomb? Later, we found out that a Russian plane had appeared undetected and dropped two bombs over the barracks. One had landed near our barracks, another one about a hundred feet further. The windows had been blown in, wounding a number of people, especially the ones downstairs.

We were leaving. We had been ordered into a column and off we marched to the station. The cars and trucks set off, too.

The railroad cars were jammed. Evacuation was in full swing. Toward evening, we reached Sweiniz. Had supper and took a car to Kunzendorf.

Had some vodka at a restaurant. (Afterward) living accommodations were assigned. I spent the night on a heap of straw, at the (local) school. An old German woman was there, too. I slept between Armenian Gaikos and Volodymyr. Thus passed the first night. Before hitting the hay, we killed two liters of vodka among ourselves...

January 21, 1945. In the morning we went to the *Schreibstube*. There we were informed that Soviet tanks were but a short distance from the village (Kunzendorf)... We were adviced to keep our hardware handy.

Ready to be on our way.

January 22, 1945. The Bolsheviks are said to have seized Katowice.

January 29, 1945. ... Drove into Czechia in the evening — 34 km from Prague.

January 30, 1945. The next day, all the Muscovites were searched and shipped off to Berlin. Brass hats are leaving, too. Everybody appears to have plenty of stolen goods on him. Cigarettes were found on Bulbenko. These were confiscated.

February 1, 1945. The *Sturmbannführer* says he's sending me to Vienna as editor of the division's newspaper. Naturally, I was secretly glad, but I told him I didn't feel like leaving.

* * *

Late in 1944, when Haj-Holovko wrote the above diary, and when he was at the *Skorpion-Ost* in Warteberg, he also came out with a misanthropic appeal in the form of a poem titled "On the March". An excerpt reads:

Stepanenko's creed: To "sow this field with enemy bodies" and "water it with enemy blood."

Have no mercy! Gouge out their eyes,
Pull out their tongues,
For such is the demand
of our crazy times —
The twentieth century...
Torture them! The hell with being humane...

Haj-Holovko's colleague, *Berichter* Mykola Stepanenko, "granted" membership in the "Steel Cohort," was just as cynical. Haj-Holovko often mentions him in his diary as a trusted friend and an unfailing drinking companion. On January 11, 1945, this character gave him a photo with the pompous inscription: "To Haj-Holovko from an invincible *otaman*,

sworn brother and friend." Stepanenko addressed him with the following "poetic" words:

> We shall sow this field with enemy bodies,
> And will water it with enemy blood.

Having found himself in America after the war, Stepanenko became one of the leaders of an organization uniting former SS men. As he had done previously, at the *Skorpion-Ost*, he continued to urge his confederates to take up arms and shed human blood.

During the occupation of Poltava Region, Stepanenko was a diligent and faithful servant of the Nazis. Confidently, he moved up the hierarchial ladder of treason, all the way from rural schoolteacher to assistant editor of the Nazi newspaper *Mirhorodski visti* to second in command at the district department of Shishaky.

His Nazi experience and pathological hatred of the Soviet Union were used by *Radio Liberty* and the *Radio Canada* where he worked for some time. Stepanenko also read lectures at the American school of military intelligence in Monterrey.

In the dozens of years Stepanenko spent abroad, neither he nor his phraseology underwent any practical changes. He was ready to jump out of his own treacherous skin to reduce the vocabulary of every Ukrainian living abroad to such words as "sword," "trenches," "bombs," "blood," and several other notions as sinister. Thus, at a banquet in Toronto commemorating the 25th anniversary of the SS Halychyna Division, Stepanenko spoke as a representative of the "government center of the Ukrainian National Republic in Exile." Among other things,

he stressed Simon Petlura's words: "We mustn't forget about our sword; let us learn to hold it even faster in our hands." "It is high time," Stepanenko exclaimed angrily, "to put an end to the epoch of phraseology at concerts and academies. On the scales of history, a sword probably weighs more than any cultural value."

Fascism, Nazism, Gestapo, SD, SS — these notions have become for humanity symbols of the worst imaginable atrocities and most heinous crimes, the embodiment of mass murders and genocide. In the meantime, Stepanenko and other SS men like him claim that one must take pride, rather than shame, in one's past, remaining true to the oath of allegiance sworn to Adolf Hitler and the Third Reich. At that same banquet, speaking before former division members, Stepanenko declared:

"I share your conviction that former members of the First Ukrainian Division are today found in all Ukrainian organizations, societies and institutions, that they are among the leaders of every such organization. They hold responsible posts at private enterprises, functioning in a variety of government and private capacities, in the educational system, from public schools to universities. All of them went through the school of life in the division... and they are not ashamed of it." (V. Veryha's "An Analysis of Our Past," *Nasha Meta*, No. 20(77), 1965, pp. 6-7).

It seems unlikely that many Ukrainians abroad took this credo of onetime SS man Mykola Stepanenko to heart, even though this character has occupied a position of quite some note within that "government in exile" and its

"political center" in Munich. The fact remains, however, that he succeeded in molding his son after his own SS image. Yurko Stepanenko followed in his father's footsteps and carried out, as best he could, the paternal idea of watering "this field" with "enemy blood," only it was the blood of the women and children he killed in Vietnam, for which "exploits" the US administration awarded him a gold medal.

XVI. PIECES OF SILVER

During the formation of the SS Halychyna Division, the Nazi occupiers promised the nationalists milk and honey; they even assured them that the SS "volunteers" would have equal rights with the German SS men. A lot of verbiage was spilled over the "unity of goals," "comradeship in arms," etc. In actuality, the Nazis invariably treated the rank and file of the *Waffen SS Division Galizien* as the *Untermenschen*, as nothing other than a means of achieving their own ends. In speaking of their "equality", the truth of that is obvious from a letter by Denysenko-Sulyma, as well as from Haj-Holovko's diary. Even Volodymyr Kubijovych, one of the outspoken propagators of the division and its enlistment campaign, who declared repeatedly that one had to fight "side by side with the German Army, against the Jews and the Bolsheviks," found himself compelled to admit the following:

"Practically, all the German instructors at the Halychyna Division regarded every Ukrain-

ian non-commissioned, or even commissioned, officer as an entity of smaller value, not to mention the privates; they (the Nazi brass) considered all Ukrainians as a sort of contingent. Every so often, they treated Ukrainian servicemen with an air of haughty superiority, creating an atmosphere of tension, so much so that *Kameradschaft* with the Germans was simply out of the question." (From the magazine *Samostiina Ukraina*, Chicago, No. 7, 1962.)

The German promise of additional benefits and material support for the families of the Halychyna servicemen proved just as false. Its only purpose was to attract more "volunteers." In his "Appeal to the Population of Galicia" (April 28, 1943), *SS Brigadeführer* Otto Wächter announced: "Every soldier of this division will receive clothing, money and rations, his family will be provided for on equal terms with (those of) the German soldiers."

The Military Council was supposed to be responsible for providing materially for the families of the division personnel. Within the Council, that particular field of endeavor was sponsored by one Andriy Paliy. He clearly formulated the tasks facing him: as much phraseology as possible concerning the "practical realization of material security for the families of the volunteers," to "grant the volunteers the opportunity to undergo their training unobtrusively," and later, courageously to sacrifice their lives for the interests of Nazi Germany.

On July 13, 1943, Alfred Bisanz, head of the Military Council, was interviewed by a reporter from a Ukrainian Nazi periodical in Lviv. When asked to comment on exactly how the families

of the division volunteers were being provided for materially, he stated: "This task has already been solved, positively and concretely. The families of the volunteers must receive the same sort of provisions as the families of the German servicemen in the (Third) Reich. The authorities have instructed the official organ, *Visnyk Heneral-Hubernatorstva* (Herald of the General-Government), to come out with an appropriate announcement."

The following is another outright lie on the part of the Military Council and its chief, Alfred Bisanz (on November 3, 1943, the author of the "Chronicles of the SS Infantry Halychyna Division" made an entry which is given below).

"We happened to take possession of a letter. The envelope read: 'C/O Dr. Petro Hnativ, 12 Striyska St., Drohobych.' It was postmarked 'Borislav (District of Galicia). 13.10.43—12.' There was no return address.

'Here is what the letter read:

'To the Guardian of the Wives and Mothers of the Oppressed SS Men...

'We thank you for having personally provided us mothers and wives with decent security. Indeed, you have done so much to this end that now we have to sell the last clothes we have in our homes to send at least some money to our husbands or sons, because you have never bothered your head about the terrible conditions in which our husbands and sons are now: they have to live on a plate of some stinking soup and 4 boiled, unpeeled potatoes. But of course, why should it worry you? Let them be tempered so they can serve you even better.

All of you big shots also enlisted in the division; it meant salvation for you, ensuring you against conscription, but nothing will ensure you against death. You knew how miserable the wives and mothers were, so how could you tell us so many lies? We are being shoved like stray dogs from one manager (administrator) to the next, from Borislav to Drohobych and back, but we return home empty-handed. You human-blood-sucking parasites, have you never thought of a woman who has nothing to take with her, going to visit (her husband or son at the division), of what she thinks and says about you? And how do you treat such women? The first thing you say is "I never made them join the division," or "Was I the one to send your man there?" We visit them at the barracks with bleeding hearts and eyes streaming with tears, cursing their lot and ours. Think what kind of soldiers they make, what they think of the front and how we cry and tell them they'd better come back home, because their wives and children are starving. These men are only waiting for the front to collapse to find some way to get even with you for all you did to them. As honest mothers and wives, we swear that it is too late for you to worry about our miserable lot. Now you'd be better off worrying about what's likely to come of you..., because you will surely die at the hands of every sincere and patriotic volunteer (of the division). You might as well visit the wife of any volunteer and ask her what kind of property she has and whether she can make a living with it. When Dr. Terlecky was seeing the volunteers off to the front, he howled like a mad dog about

their being able to go and work for their Motherland, feeling confident he and the other superiors would take good care of us, letting us live with enough of everything. That was a lie, because they only wanted our men out of the house, separated from their wives and mothers. You as a "great hero of the Ukraine" took great pains when you went to Borislav to deceive every Ukrainian, and you got paid for it with German butter. Right now you may be well off, but don't be so sure about the future, for no one knows what it will bring one.

'What the volunteers think of the Ukrainian officers is that they are fighting for the Ukraine in bed with their women and at a lavishly laid table.' "

This letter was not signed.

In the *Istoriya Ukrainskoho Viiska* (History of the Ukrainian Host), published after the war, Mykola Kapustiansky wrote:

"The families of the division men were never cared for by the community. The Germans did not keep their promises. In many cases families of division servicemen were granted neither monetary aid nor additional rations."

V. Kubijovych drew an even straighter furrow when he declared in an article carried by *Samostiina Ukrdina* (No. 7, 1962) that "The families of the soldiers of the Halychyna Division received no help from either the Ukrainian Relief Committee (UDK) or the Military Council, which could not have cared less." Mind that these words come from a former Chairman of the Ukrainian Central Committee who was once directly in charge of the UDK on the territory of the *Generalgouvernement.*

From the aforementioned facts, letters and statements by Nazi and nationalist "guardian angels" of the *Waffen SS Galizien Division*, it is apparent that the Third Reich elite was absolutely indifferent toward the "monetary aid and additional rations," or generally, toward the fates of the families of "volunteers." All it needed was cannon fodder — additional punitive commando battalions to "pacify" the rebellious populace of the occupied countries. By cruel, offensively superior attitudes toward both men and officers of the SS Halychyna Division and by shooting deserters and other unruly men, the Nazis sought to achieve only one thing — to erase anything human that remained in the hearts and souls of the future SS men, turning them into unfailing tools of murder and destruction.

Such was the concept of Governor Hans Frank, head of the *Generalgouvernement* as well. At a meeting with the "masses" in Lviv (January 30, 1944), he listened to the servile assurances of Constantine Pankivsky, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Central Committee concerning the "readiness for cooperation and joint struggle." Pankivsky also expressed the hope that "this fifth year of combat will decide the outcome of the war," and again expounded on how confident he was that "we are prepared to dedicate to this cause all the strength and means, necessary to fulfill the most important tasks in the sphere of food and work, as well as in other areas... It was for this reason we sent our sons and menfolk to serve in the *Waffen SS*."

In his return address, Hans Frank said: "You must be filled with joy at the thought of close contact with the State of Adolf Hitler... Our joint efforts have been sanctified by the fact that you have sent your sons and men to join combat units, placing them at the disposal of the German people... I do hope that what you have declared will come true — namely that these men will fulfill their duty as loyal sons of the Ukrainian people, and simultaneously, as courageous soldiers of Germany."

Reports on that public appearance of Hans Frank and his hope that the Galician "sons and menfolk," placed at the beck and call of the Nazis, would prove themselves as "courageous soldiers of Germany" were carried by such Nazi-controlled periodicals in occupied territories as *Lemberger Zeitung, Lvivski visti* and *Krakivski visti.*

XVII. "THE DIVISION HAS BEGUN TO WRITE ITS HISTORY IN BLOOD"

(Excerpts from "Chronicle of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division")

In February-March, 1944, the division's SS men completed their training sessions. By that time, quite a few of them had had sufficient "practice" as guards (overseers) at Nazi death camps. They had also taken part in mass shootings of POWs and other inmates, as well as in punitive missions and combat operations against the people's avengers — partisans.

One of the larger-scale "anti-partisan actions"

took place in February-March 1944 (during that period, partisan detachments under the command of Lieutenant Colonel P. Vershyhora had made their presence felt in Chełm District). V. Veryha, an "historian" of the SS Halychyna Division, writes in his book *Along the Roads of World War II*: "At the end of February, a task force of 2,000 Halychyna men was set up and placed under the command of Major Bayersdorf." It was promptly dispatched to combat Soviet partisans in Chełm District.

More details on that "anti-partisan mission" are found in the "Chronicle of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division." The "chronicler," a member of the editorial staff of the SS newspaper *Do peremohy*, listing facts in his diary, was probably unaware that his dry, brief entries would eventually serve as evidence aimed directly against the modern glorifiers of the "valorous deeds" of the SS Halychyna Division, who have gone so far in their falsifications as to claim that neither the division as a whole, nor its separate units were ever involved in any punitive missions against the civilian populace of Nazi-occupied territory. Some of these advocates even allege that NO MISSIONS were undertaken against the partisans.

In March 1944, the following entry was made in the "Chronicle":

"Word received from Halychyna Division: 'A group of 1,000 men, under the command of Bayersdorf, was detached from the SS Halychyna Division, which had taken an active part in the struggle against the partisans (e. g., Zamosc, Bilgoraj, Tomaszow). Later, the group returned to Neuhammer where the division was

stationed. Other groups of our trainees are being shipped there, too. The division is to start drills for its companies and regiments as well as maneuvers, executed at a division scale.

"N. B.— The *Viking* Division * has been assigned to replace our group. (It consists of) the men who survived at Cherkasy (which means that it is no longer stationed in the area of Ternopil-Proskuriv).

"Lviv.

"Our 5th Regiment replaced the group of the division stationed where the *Viking* Division is, and the 4th Regiment was sent to man the right flank traversing Lubachiv, Radekhiv and Zbarazh...

"Ternopil.

"The Bolsheviks entered Ternopil March 6 this year, advancing north and east, but (it transpired later) that they occupied the... suburbs rather than the whole city. Immediately, the Poles unfurled red and red-and-white flags and began to tip the Bolsheviks off on the Ukrainians (the Jews also came out against the Ukrainians)... Still, when the Germans and our SS men cleared part of the city of Bolsheviks, we rounded up every single Pole, and locked them all in the cathedral, after which we exterminated them."

The "chronicler" also provides data on those Halychyna units which took part in that punitive mission. "Our SS men — the 3rd Battalion of the 4th Regiment — each had a hand grenade and 30 rounds and one or two 'MG's' per

* Starting in June 1941, the Volunteer SS *Viking* Motorized Division took part in actions against Soviet forces. At the end of 1943, it was reorganized as the 5th SS *Panzer* Divison

company in those battles against the Bolsheviks for Zbarazh-Ternopil...

"March 16...

"Zolochiv.

"Commander Dr. H. Luchakivsky informs that, in the course of the latest battles with the Bolsheviks, 37 men of the 4th Regiment, 3rd Battalion, which was in Zbarazh, made it back. The rest must have either surrendered, deserted, or vanished into thin air.

"News has been received from the division's group detached to fight Soviet partisans at Bilgoraj, Krasnystaw and Czesanow. The men held their ground well; they made the Bolsheviks retreat, but they also robbed local residents, taking away cows and swine. Lieutenant Sobolevsky's unit conducted itself the worst: unit of 30 men..."

The following entry was made March 21-22:

"Halychyna Division.

"The task force fighting Bolshevik partisans at Radekhiv-Bilgoraj numbered 1,300 men. Its losses are actually far from bad: only 10 men killed. In Galicia, the group's conduct proved exemplary. Once it had entered the territory of Chełm and occupied the villages partially inhabited by Poles, its men set about looting the Polish residents. In this area, Lieutenant Sobolevsky's company was the worst."

The division's "Chronicle" also elaborates on other such "feats of arms."

"October 29, Lviv...

"Bania Bereziv. Kolomyia District.

"The pacifying action is over. Four village homes burned to the ground, 19 men arrested...

"Dolyna. Striy District. On Sunday, October 31, forty-three persons were placed in front of a firing squad publicly — most of them were Ukrainians, condemned on martial law charges of illegal possessions of firearms, contacts with (partisan) gangs, and other such activities. Among those executed were six persons by the name of Babyak because one Babyak is a (partisan) bandit. Six Azerbaijani men were hanged by the neck right then and there.

"N. B.— More than 80 persons were shot to death when rounding up the people for the (planned) execution...

"Drohobich.

"12 men shot; they were picked up at random during a roundup at the market place (November 2). Charges for execution dictated by martial law. (Among the victims were) ten Ukrainians and two Poles."

The so-called Special Detached Company of the *14th Grenadieren Waffen SS Galizien Division* was actively employed in such "pacifying missions," executions, as well as in forcefully shipping people to Germany as fresh slave labor contingents.

On November 23, 1943, this company raided Kokhanivka, a village 15 km from the SS Halychyna Division *Heidelager* in Dębica. Having gathered a crowd of local inhabitants, the SS men, acting jointly with other such "death squads," proceeded to shoot 11, hang 5, and torture to death 39 individuals (the latter were butchered by gouging out the victims' eyes, carving five-pointed stars in living flesh, chopping off women's breasts and men's genitals). The mutilated bodies were then placed inside a barn and

burned. In addition to that, 20 old people and 50 children were locked up in a village home which was set on fire. One hundred persons were exterminated with the help of the *Gaswagen* "death vans." A total of 850 individuals were herded to a local railroad station and shipped off to Germany. Twelve of them were shot en route. The village of Kokhanivka was razed to the ground. This was what lay behind the pompous and misguiding SS notion of "pacifying actions."

On November 27, 1943, the company staged a pogrom at a settlement halfway between the burned-down Kokhanivka and the town of Dębica. Six "partisans" were hanged, 100 villagers shot, 120 doomed to a ride in a "death van," some 100 persons were butchered, and more than 30 children were drowned in drinking wells. Twelve of the 644 captives, prodded to Dębica station enroute to Germany, were killed. The settlement was burned to the ground.

In January 1944, the SS division's special company shot 12 individuals, hanged 4, burned 20 alive and otherwise murdered 120 victims, using methods just as barbarous in a settlement 10 km west of Dębica.

Legal bodies investigating the war crimes of the Nazi occupiers estimated that the special company of the SS Halychyna Division had tortured more than 2,000 civilians to death in Poland, shipped 20,000 persons off to Germany, and burned down 20 villages.

Today's "historians" of the division attempt in every way to deny its involvement in the inhuman extermination of these people. Stubbornly, they shut their eyes to the irrefutable

fact that massacre was precisely the purpose for which this unit was formed as part of the *Waffen SS*. These falsifiers use as argumentation mere negative statements like: "No, it never happened!" "No, we didn't kill anybody." Vasyl Veryha, resident of Toronto, Canada, formerly a serviceman of the SS Halychyna Division, who has been mentioned in this book previously, wrote in his *Along the Roads of World War II*: "It (the division) did not carry out a single action against the civilian population, anywhere, anytime." (p. 122) "...any allegation that the Halychyna Division as a whole, or its separate unit(s), took part in suppressing the uprising in Warsaw, or generally, in various crimes against the civilian residents runs counter to historical truth." (p. 132.)

But, Mr. Veryha, facts are hardly something to be shrugged off.

As regards the division's participation in suppressing the Warsaw Uprising, there is authentic data on this further on. But for now, an account of the "punitive expedition" to Huta Pieniacka, a Polish village. This raid involved several Halychyna units, in the course of which division servicemen O. Babak, R. Andriychuk and Yu. Hanusiak were killed. Babak and Andriychuk were accorded a lavish funeral which was given extensive coverage by the division's and other Nazi-controlled newspapers. The ceremony was described as the "funeral of the first two fallen riflemen of the SS division." Hanusiak's remains were consigned to the grave as a routine act, without any propaganda fuss.

But what actually happened in Huta Pieniacka?

As in so many other Nazi-occupied localities, quite a few residents of that village in Brody District, Lviv Region, had joined the Soviet partisans. The newspaper run by the SS Halychyna Division even wrote that "German power wasn't established in this village for almost two years." Naturally, this settlement was used to accentuate the "victory" over the "Polish and Jewish partisans in the village of Huta Pieniacka," but the fact remains that all the residents of the village refused to give in to the Nazis; they fought the occupiers. D. Medvedev, a well-known Soviet partisan commander, mentions Huta Pieniacka in his book *Silniye dukhom* (The Strong of Spirit). In that village, he writes, Lieutenant Krutikov's group was reinforced by new partisans. Three days after the group had left the village, it was "surrounded by the Nazis. They set fire to it on all sides, burned it down and killed all the residents except for seventeen persons who remained alive by a miracle."

A more detailed account of the tragedy is offered by A. Szczesniak in his book *The Road to Nowhere*, published in Warsaw in 1973, by the Polish Ministry of People's Defense.

"... February 27, 1944. An SS Galician detachment carried out a pacifying action at the Polish village of Huta Pieniacka, near Brody. They herded the women and children inside several buildings and then set fire to them; the men were shot at the local chapel."

In Huta Pieniacka, the Nazis and their Ukrainian nationalist assistants performed a most terrifying act of genocide. Testimonies rendered by surviving eye-witnesses, as well as official

investigative documents add up to the following morbid picture:

Several days after two of the SS Halychyna Division special company men died in Huta Pieniacka, the German command ordered a "pacifying action" against that village. At the time, the village in question accommodated a number of Poles originating from smaller rural neighborhoods who had been anxious to find refuge in towns and larger villages, lest they fall prey to the bloody orgy staged by the Nazis and "Ukrainian formations" like the SS Halychyna Division, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or the Auxiliary (Ukrainian Nazi) Police.

It was before dawn that the *Waffen SS* units, including a Halychyna detachment, surrounded the village. Having entered it, the intruders confined its residents within the four walls of the cathedral. While the men remained under lock and key in the cathedral ("chapel"), the women and children were split into groups which were driven inside various village homes and barns and locked up. Cans of gasoline were then emptied upon and around them. A match was struck, sending the whole site into flames. Those who tried to escape were gunned down on the spot. After it was the turn of the men. An eyewitness account of this episode of the massacre comes from Petro Kowalczukowski, a resident of the village who was 34 years of age at the time (he had managed to steal out of the cathedral and hide in a nearby ravine, from which place of concealment he observed the way in which the SS men went about their gory "pacifying mission."

This is what remained of the village of Huta Pieniacka

Fler Brzuzik, resident of Pieniaky, a neighboring village, recalls that soldiers dressed in camouflage coveralls drove all the residents they had been able to round up in Huta Pieniacka toward the church where the victims were then locked up. Some of the captives were confined there. After that, the soldiers drove some of the inmates outside to be burned alive. Other victims were ordered into groups to be cut down with machine gun fire and bursts from *Schmeisser* submachine guns. When it was Fler's turn (he was then 10 years old) to be herded to where they would be either shot or burned, he and his younger sister Stanislawa stole out of the column and hid in an old chapel. All around them (Fler remembers) people were

shrieking and moaning, being roasted alive. Smoke was rising on all sides, which must have been why the soldiers failed to spot the fleeing children. Before leaving the village, the soldiers set fire to everything that would burn, including the old chapel.

Other surviving witnesses, among them Tomasz Michalski and Zygmund Kobelianski, rendered testimonies on exactly how the "pacifying mission" was accomplished.

All told, 500 residents of Huta Pieniacka were slaughtered, plus 150 inhabitants of Hutysko Pieniacke who were in hiding at that village, as well as 20 people from Pieniaky, 13 from Huta Brodska, 49 from Litowisko, and some 70 residents of other neighborhoods. About 120 village homes and outbuildings were razed to the ground. The SS raiders took with them all the horses, cattle, poultry and other loot they were able to gather.

The remains of the victims of the SS punitive expedition were buried, consigned to three common graves in the yard of the former Polish Roman Catholic church in Huta Pieniacka.

Much as he might have wanted to, Veryha could not overlook this glaring act of genocide and vandalism, because the division men bragged too loud about their "success" after the destruction of Huta Pieniacka. Still, this SS hack tries to play it smart in his book *Along the Roads of World War II*, writing that "this was not an attack on a peaceful village; on the contrary, the residents of the village greeted the approaching units with machine gun fire from the top of the church, something which would never be tolerated by any combat unit. Second-

ly, the punitive units which assaulted Huta Pieniacka were basically composed of Germans. Finally and most importantly, the single Ukrainian unit which advanced on the village of Huta Pieniacka, along with the German forces, was not at that time part of the Halychyna Division, nor was it subordinated to the latter's command, so any allegation that the Halychyna Division took part in the pacification of that village, or that it presumably burned Poles alive, is not true."

Strange, isn't it, that at one point Veryha claims "it was not an attack on a peaceful village," stating a bit further that there were "punitive units which assaulted Huta Pieniacka," and then mentions a "Ukrainian unit which advanced on the village"? Does not the above indicate that there was indeed an "attack," "assault" or "advance"? It most certainly does. What is more, that raid had obviously been planned, organized and coordinated well in advance; it was also carried out with the consent of the Nazi command.

To refute the obvious truth, Veryha stresses that "the single Ukrainian unit which advanced on the village of Huta Pieniacka... was not at that time part of the Halychyna Division, nor was it subordinated to the latter's command." Even granting that the operation to destroy Huta Pieniacka was generally supervised by the *Waffen SS* brass rather than by the division command, one cannot possibly overlook the fact that some units of the SS Galician division were actually involved in that "pacifying mission."

Can one really expect that a sober-minded person, after reading at least one of the aforequoted passages from Veryha's book, will cast a shade of doubt upon the fact that Halychyna SS thugs, even whole units of that division, took a most unequivocal part in slaughtering the populace of Huta Pieniacka and in annihilating the village? Veryha himself, much as he seems to be beating about the bush, cannot but admit the truth. After all, he writes that some units of that division "assaulted" the village, even though he implies they were under German SS command. Secondly, he admits that those were "punitive units" and that people were burned alive in the course of that "punitive mission." Still, contrary to facts, logic or his own previous statements, Veryha arrives at the bewildering conclusion that "any allegation that the Halychyna Division took part in the pacification of that village, or that it presumably burned Poles alive is not true."

Quite an amazing bit of logic: while admitting that Halychyna SS men were indeed involved in that raid on Huta Pieniacka — a village in which "German power wasn't established ... for almost two years" — and that they did take part in destroying that village, Mr. Veryha persists in alleging that the division as such carried no blame for the massacre. Veryha is trying to play it smart, as are all the other "historians" like him, but again, no roundabout phraseology can cleanse all these former SS Halychyna killers of the curses thrown at them by people who are set on anathemizing them for their manslaughter at, and their destruction of Huta Pieniacka, as well as for the

atrocious actions in other towns and villages where men, women, children and old people were massacred.

The tragedy of Huta Pieniacka is also reflected in the "Chronicle of the SS Infantry Halychyna Division." One of the entries reads:

"February 25, Lviv.

"Now it really seems worth writing the Chronicle of the Halychyna Division and recording the reality of its existence and operation, because this division has begun to write its history in blood. Our riflemen are composed of the 4th and 5th Regiment from Alsace (France), and of an extra regiment (29th?) from the *Heidelager*, under the command of Major Ye. Pobihushchy. These regiments have been stationed as follows: the 4th and the one under Major Pobihushchy, in Zolochiv, Radekhiv, Lubachiv, Brody, Sokal; the 5th (Regiment), in Lublin. Word was received that three of our riflemen had been lost in combat against the Bolsheviks at Brody. Today, Colonel A. Bisanz and someone also from the propaganda division came to honor the remains of the three fallen servicemen...

"March 3, Lviv...

"The following is a more detailed account of the first combat engagements of our SS men; battle actions took place 02.23 and 02.24, to capture Huta Pieniacka, a Polish village where the Poles had put up defense lines. Olexa Babak and Roman Andriychuk were killed in action, while Yurko Hanusiak fell in battle 02.24. The first Battalion of the 4th Regiment was engaged in that operation, too. The funeral of the fallen soldiers took place at the *Heldenfriedpott*,

With the swastika till death

Brody, on March 2. Among other VIP's attending the ceremony were Governor Dr. Wächter, Colonel A. Bisanz, and *Obersturmbannführer* Wehrguz.* The funeral was held to the accompaniment of a *Luftwaffe* brass band. Eight to twelve of the wounded were our SS men. The villages of Huta Pieniacka and Pieniaky were burned down, pacified and rid of the populace."

Several photos were carried by Nazi-run newspapers, featuring Wächter, Bisanz and other "pallbearers of note." Every picture also provided a clear view of the Nazi swastika-bearing

* Nazi and Ukrainian nationalist periodicals specified that he ranked as a Nazi "chief of propaganda" — V. S.

flags covering the coffins. There is no denying the fact that what was happening had come as a sad event for the Galician SS men, probably made even more disheartening by the fact that the entire ceremony was conducted under Nazi control, and that it was accompanied by a *Luftwaffe* brass band, swastika banners unfurled. Could it be possible that the ritual made the freshly initiated Galician SS men, among them Herr Otto Wächter, recall the pledge which Dr. Wächter had incorporated in his "Appeal" addressed to those living in Galicia? Among other things, this document reads: "The volunteers, as members of the division, will retain their national insignia." In actuality, however, the Galician Lion found itself replaced by the Nazi swastika (the latter marked many of them on their final, decorous trip to the Great Beyond).

Now, if one can tolerate V. Veryha's "logic," it appears that the inspector's funeral accorded the remains of those few soldiers of that "single Ukrainian unit" which was not at that time "part of the Halychyna Division" (and the situation could not have possibly changed over a couple of days), should also be regarded as "not true."

XVIII. THE "UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY"

As has been mentioned above, on February 25, 1944 the chronicler of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division wrote: "Now it really seems worth

writing the chronicles of the Halychyna Division and recording the reality of its existence and operation, because this division has begun to write its history in blood."

One of the elements of the situation in which the division existed and operated was an escalation by early 1944 of terror staged by the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Simultaneously, the UPA was being trained by the Abwehr and the SS for operations in the Soviet army rear.

In September 1943, Reichsführer Himmler's special order gave the command of the UPA — and the pompous title of Commander-in-Chief — to Taras Chuprynka, an alias of Roman Shukhevich, an Abwehr agent and one-time commander of the sabotage and punitive *Nachtigall* battalion. According to OUN biographers, in the early months of 1942 he was made "commander of an auxiliary unit" in Byelorussia. That unit was the *Schutzmannschaftbattalion-201* allotted to the army corps under *SS Obergruppenführer* Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, *Oberführer* of the SS and the police of the Army Group Center, stationed in Mogilev, Byelorussia.

Who is who

VON DEM BACH AND HIS HENCHMEN

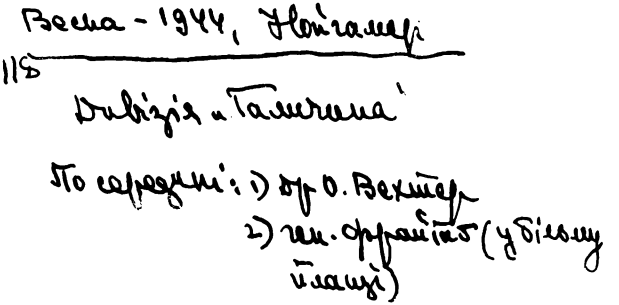
Stifling every suggestion of resistance to the Nazi occupation authorities and, first and foremost, fighting partisans who sought vengeance, was the main mission of von dem Bach-Zelew-

ski's corps. They were also reinforced by cutthroats from the *Nachtigall* and the *Roland* battalions. In carrying out that mission, acts of provocation were staged as an attempt to put pressure on Soviet partisans by issuing provocateur appeals urging them to cease fighting and surrender to the mercy of the police. For instance, in 1943 von dem Bach-Zelewski's appeals to Ukrainian partisans were scattered in partisan-controlled areas. Beginning with "Ukrainians in the woods: The German Reich speaks herein on behalf of Europe and her ancient culture," the appeal continued with the absurdity: "Asia has gone to battle to devastate Europe. Asia signifies empty steppes and a lack of culture: the barbarians of Central Asia have gone to battle to devastate gardens in flower, churches, cathedrals, and age-old monuments of Europe's ancient culture."

And further, "We, Germans, are addressing you. And we further tell you that Germany and her allies will win a decisive victory...

"A colossal war waged by the great, good and holy against the barbarity and devilry of Bolshevism and its Jewish allies is exacting its toll all over the globe. And a very heavy toll it is. The German Reich and her allies are making unparalleled sacrifices in terms of blood, money, bread, meat, and potatoes."

Then came the magnanimous pledge that "the Führer Adolf Hitler's gratitude commensurate with service and sacrifice will be extended, after the defeat of Bolshevism," to Nazi collaborators "in the police and administration" and to others who had services to the Reich to their credit. Thereupon Bach-Zelewski called out, "Come



Inscription on the picture:
Spring, 1944. Neuhammer. Halychyna Division.
In the center: 1) Dr. O. Wächter 2) Gen. Freitag (in a white coat)

back from the woods and marshes. Your past misdeeds will be pardoned if you report to a German police station bearing your weapons and the PERMIT below."

These barefaced lies, rank deception, and paranoid narcissism were topped off by the following "document":

> "PERMIT
>
> "The bearer of this PERMIT will receive food and fair treatment.
>
> "The bearer's signature below commits him/her to abstain from struggle against the Reich and her Allies.
>
> "The bearer requests one of the jobs, listed below, in the war of liberation against Bolshevism:
>
> 1. work in Germany
> 2. work in Ukraine
> 3. job in police

4. job in administration
5. work on own farm

Signature of bearer
Location
Former place of residence
von dem Bach SS Obergruppenführer
and General of Police"

The appeal and the permit bear the unmistakable stamp of the wily style and way of thinking of the provocateurs from the *Schutzmannschaftbattalion*-201 under the command of the *Roland's* Yevhen Pobihushchy and the *Nachtigall's* Roman Shukhevich. Good food and fair treatment were promised, dubious guarantees of a "healthy living" given; even the prospect of service in the police or administration was

dangled. But no matter what pains von dem Bach and his henchmen took to set up a lure, his appeals were never regarded as anything other than acts of provocation, pure and simple. No one could expect anything else from von dem Bach the Cutthroat (a widely used nickname he had earned). The Nuremberg trials of major war criminals provided in 1946 even more unquestionable evidence of the criminal role that von dem Bach played in the annihilation of millions of people, mostly Slavs. Nor did this role escape the just reckoning of the people, who taught the slaughterers of Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Poles and other nations the lesson they deserved.

* * *

Such was the schooling that the future UPA "Commander-in-Chief" Roman Shukhevich got with the corps of the SS-and-policeman von dem Bach-Zelewski.

Today, survivors of the UPA and the SS Halychyna Division who reside in the USA, Canada, Britain, and elsewhere in the West cry out from the rooftops that they openly fought the German invader and took no actions against civilians; being, on the contrary, their defenders, they even saved outlawed Jews from German persecution.

A lot of convincing evidence has been put forth by authors in this country and abroad about the actual character of the UPA. But this book takes its facts only from the "Chronicle of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division," aiming to describe the situation in which the

division existed and operated. Moreover, only the records that coincided in time with the destruction of the village of Huta Pieniacka and of its inhabitants were selected, and, therefore, with the period in which the division began to "write its history in blood."

The divisional chronicler recorded:

"February 29. Stanislav Region.

"I have talked with a friend, an oldtimer with the Riflemen of the Sich, who has been travelling around — specifically, to Stanislav Region. He says that there is a movement in our villages run by the younger men (meaning OUN-UPA men — V. S.); they are getting military training but keep clear of the Germans. The Germans are fully aware of the goings on.

"... March 2. Village of Meteliv.

"This village is in Zboriv District. Several young men — calling themselves Banderites — came to one of our villagers demanding 3,000 for their organization. He would not give them the money. They shot him and his wife to death and hanged the bodies from a tree in the yard to intimidate others.

"... village of Demidovichi, Peremyshlyany District.

"In the woods near this village (or that of Demidovichi) partisans * stumbled across large bunkers full of Jews. The partisans blasted the bunkers out of existence, killing 200 Jews.

"Lviv.

"Rumors are flying in the town that the UPA has subterranean barracks, housing an army —

---

* So the "chronicler" calls UPA men

their army, naturally — complete with hospitals, food stores, printshops, and munitions dumps.

"... March 20. Volyn Region.

"There is a Ukrainian insurgent in Volyn Region * (or probably, already in Galicia) who boasts of having strangled 300 Poles with a rope. He is a real hero there."

Haj-Holovko also wrote in his diary about the UPA collaboration with the German occupation authorities and its close contacts with the German SS and Abwehr. On December 7, 1944, that is some 9 months after the events mentioned in the "Chronicle," Haj-Holovko noted, "Today a UPA representative visited the *Skorpion*. He said that the Germans should not mention the UPA at their briefings. The reason for that is clear."

What could possibly be so unclear about it? Both the SS Halychyna Division and the UPA were spawned by the same Nazi monster that contrived to strike at the Soviet army and civilians, if not in battle at the front, then at least furtively, behind the lines. The Nazis, particularly Himmler's men, regarded both units as a tool for such a strike; and the proof that both did the bidding of the same master is extensive, corroborated, though half-heartedly, by the nationalists themselves. Wrote Veryha, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the SS Halychyna Division:

"The existence of the division was a useful thing to the UPA, too. When mentioning the fact, already widely known, that division-trained men later formed the backbone of the UPA —

* i. e. member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

and very much so after the setback at Brody — it also warrants nothing that the UPA command itself sent whole groups of its men to the division for proper army training, impossible to obtain in the UPA. The division cemented the command-and-instructor personnel of the UPA which remained behind on home soil."

But what if Veryha is laying too much at the SS door, ascribing to the SS the training of the UPA personnel, the cementing of the army with commanders and instructors, and even the creation of the UPA's backbone from SS men? Rather, he displays much "reticence," obviously holding back a great deal. He could have mentioned the widely known fact that the first cutthroats trained for "insurgent action" on Soviet territory were the product of special schools of the SD, a Nazi security service, as early as 1940. At that time, the Nazis had plans to move the trained personnel to the Ukraine to stir up an "uprising" as a prelude to an armed invasion of this country. Failing in that, the secret services of Nazi Germany decided to unleash them, for the former trainees of the SD officer schools would surely come in handy for the formation of the UPA.

Nor can the OUN-UPA biography rid itself of the cunningly contrived connections between the OUN-UPA and the Abwehr (Military Intelligence Service). On the Abwehr payroll were the "head of the OUN Leadership" Stephen Bandera as an agent, UPA "C-in-C" Roman Shukhevich, who came to the occupied Ukraine as co-commander, together with the German, Herzner, of the Abwehr *Nachtigall* Battalion, etc.

Thus, it turns out that it was not only with the SS that the UPA had cast its lot. Yet that "army," nurtured and armed by the German occupiers, was to become part of the last hope of the SS, the *Werwolf*. Established in early April 1945, the *Werwolf* was to conduct sabotage and terror against the USSR and the Allied nations even after the collapse of the Third Reich. In May 1945, an order of Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz, successor-Führer to the already crumbled Nazi Reich, stopped the *Werwolf* operations against the Western Allies. But the order did not cover the *Werwolf* activities against the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other non-capitalist nations, so for another several years the UPA and similar *Werwolf* units carried out the actions planned by Himmler and Goebbels's services. Thus, their murderous deeds bore out the name of *Werwolf*: a werewolf, creeping out of the grave of the dead Nazi monster to destroy human life and the fruits of human labor.

XIX. MOBILIZATION COMPLETED

According to the "Chronicle's" record of mid-March 1944, at that time the town of Neuhammer was the point of assembly for training groups who had finished with theory and begun to put it into bloody practice. The mobilization, when over, was to be completed with final military exercises of the battalion, then regimental levels and, lastly, with the whole division participating.

No matter what Veryha said to prove that "the ... unit which advanced on the village of Huta Pieniacka in late February-early March 1944 was not then part of the Halychyna Division; at that time the division already had a fixed structure, and its units had been assigned numerical designations and names. But (counter to Veryha's assertions) the names of the division's units did not contain the word 'Ukrainian': in no uncertain terms, the command punctually carried out Himmler's order, forbidding anyone to ever call the unit a Ukrainian division or a Ukrainian formation."

The "Chronicle" records the use, in February-March 1944, of the 4th and 5th regiments of the SS Halychyna Division in operations against Soviet partisans. Noting here that in the town of Ternopil, the soldiers of the 3rd Battalion, 4th Regiment, herded "all the Poles into a cathedral and exterminated them," it continues with the fact that 37 men made it back out of the eventual entanglements with the Bolsheviks. The rest surrendered, deserted or disappeared. Further on, mention is made of the 1st Battalion, 4th Regiment, the first to engage "Polish and Jewish partisans at the village of Huta Pieniacka."

Neuhammer became the site of the formation, from the SS Halychyna Division's soldiers of the *Kampfgruppe Bayersdorf*, organized to fight partisans, which would return to Neuhammer after being replaced by the German *Viking* Division.

Neuhammer also became the place of assembly for the division's units when they returned from training sessions; there the division com-

pleted its mobilization for use in action by the SS command.

Neuhammer, a town in the province of Niederschlesien, by the administrative division of the Nazi occupation period, is currently the city of Swietoszow in southwestern Poland. Having occupied Poland, the Nazis turned Neuhammer into a stronghold of the Abwehr and the SS. Prior to the attack on the USSR the town was used for stationing the *Nachtigall* battalion and the formation of another Abwehr battalion, *Bergmann*, designed for punitive activities and sabotage in the Caucasus. A couple of years later, Neuhammer provided refuge for the SS Halychyna Division and the espionage school which trained the division's "volunteers."

Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopaedia, published in 1949 under the general guidance of Kubijovych and Kuzela, "experts" on the SS Halychyna Division, contains information of the division's organization and structure. According to this source, the division "followed the pattern of the full-strength German infantry division, consisting of three infantry regiments, artillery, signal, engineer, antitank, air-defense, infantry and supply battalions, a headquarters company, a cavalry squadron, and auxiliary services."

These "experts" are basically right about the organization and structure of the Wehrmacht infantry division as established by a German army order dated September 24, 1943. But both in mission and character of use and structure, the SS Halychyna Division was different from Wehrmacht divisions. Whereas the 1943 Wehrmacht infantry division was made up of two-battalion regiments, the SS Halychyna Division

consisted of three-battalion ones. The division also had a training and reserve regiment and a reconnaissance battalion intended for specific subversion missions that occupied a special position in the division. Punitive operations were the responsibility of a special missions company whose total of Ukrainian, Polish, Jewish, etc., civilians eliminated ran into the thousands. As is clear from the foregoing documents, the SS Halychyna Division's regiments, stationed in Neuhammer, were designated the 4th, 5th (received training in French Alsace), 7th, 29th, and 30th. They were not brought up to full strength, and, in fact, a lack of one-third of the required personnel made each regiment undermanned by a battalion.

By late April 1944 the mobilization of the SS Halychyna Division had, on the whole, been completed, but practical exercises and punitive activities of the division in the pacification of the rebellious population were still underway. In May, the 14th Reconnaissance Battalion rode to the town of Pikovic, 30 km from Prague, to practice the demolition of defensive fortifications. But the trainees of the school in Iwonicze, the district of Krosno, Poland, had become so expert at pacification that, since they were needed more for punitive practice, they never made it to the division either in April or in later months.

The *Ergänzungsamt* and the immediate command of the SS division made sure all the key positions in the division were in the hands of seasoned SS men. Mykola Kapustyansky, specifically, said in his *History of the Ukrainian Host*, that the division's command was German.

Likewise, the command of the infantry regiments, the artillery regiment, and even all the artillery battalions were in German hands. Besides, the command echelons of the infantry, artillery and other battalions were all the domain of the Germans — so much so that even company or battery supply officers and noncoms in charge of finance were Germans. There was a German — the eye and ear of the division's command — in every unit down to the smallest one.

Since 1943, the division had been under the command of a police-officer-turned-*SS-Brigadeführer* Fritz Freitag. Many of his commanding officers had seen a lot of service with other SS and police units: K. Tiefenbacher in command of the signal company had served in police battalions in 1940 to 1943; G. Menig had traded the death camp Mauthausen for platoon leadership with the division; G. Streut came from the SS *Totenkopf* (Death's Head) Division; Ye. Pobihushchy, a regimental commander, had commanded the subversion and punitive battalion *Roland* from 1940 to 1941 and, in 1942, headed the *Schutzmannschaftbattalion-201* incorporated into the corps under the *SS Obergruppenführer* Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski. Though of Ukrainian origin, Pobihushchy could be considered their man by the Germans since it was his service with the Abwehr and the SS, rather than his origin, that counted. This accounts for his position, unusually high for a Ukrainian, in the officer corps of the 14th Volunteer SS Halychyna Infantry Division.

Back in November 1943, Fritz Menert, one of the division's *Berichters*, described, in his ac-

count of trainee SS men's stay at Neuhammer during training, the reason Pobihushchy had risen so high in his career with the SS. In this respect, it is necessary to emphasize again that when the Halychyna men were being trained, all school commanders were German or, like Pobihushchy, had sold out to the Germans, body and soul. Below is Menert's account of a meeting with the trainees:

"The faces, weatherbeaten and suntanned to a deep bronze, were looking at us from under the German helmets. The men were all alike. But there already was a commander among them. The four stars on the collar showed him to be the commandant... That was Pobihushchy, commander of the Galician volunteers; at the time of their festive departure from Lviv, it was he who reported to the governor on the thousands of volunteers headed for training. He was the one with the SS leader's insignia. As a former officer with a German police battalion, he was capable of faster progress toward higher ranks, having already proven his abilities as a leader. Beside him stood Rudichiv, formerly a captain in the tsarist and later in the Ukrainian armies and a merchant in the town of Kalush in civilian life. Among those who had come was Dr. Maletsky, an eminent judge from the town of Horlitsi.

"... Here we met them all together again: Paliev, an editor from Lviv; Tarnovich, author and historian; Davibida from Buchach, one-time *Oberleutnant* in the Austrian army; Boytsun, a technician from the milk-processing factory, and many others. (The newspaper *Lvivski Visti*, November 14-15, 1943.)"

But at that time, these former captains and lieutenants of the Russian Tsarist, Austrian Imperial, and Petlura's armies were still no more than privates; like their "minister and author" colleague Haj-Holovko, they were still shining shoes for German officers, and puffing on the occasional cigarettes offered them for their pains.

Later on, they would take something of their own back, pulling rank and giving it hot to those under them, to those bums, those hayseeds; they would take out on the rank and file the wanton malice previously held in check by the German instructors. But, to tell the truth, most of them were not, as a rule, entrusted with any assignment higher than company leadership: and even that went only to those with the most services to the Nazis. Nor can we ignore the fact that Germans also occupied many noncom positions. That is why the would-be SS officers went all out to score points with the command and to ape their German commanders in every way.

XX. HIMMLER'S VISIT

In May 1944, the SS Halychyna Division had the honor of a personal visit from SS Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler. Doing his utmost to conceal his contempt for the Halychyna servicemen, Himmler addressed the officer corps of the division in an attempt to boost the morale of the segregated command personnel and induce them — with threats and promises — into

unquestioning obedience to any order of the Führer and the SS Command.

Explaining his order that forbade any mention whatsoever of the word "Ukraine" in connection with the SS Halychyna Division, Himmler called on everyone to wait until the end of the war when "heaven-sent" Adolf Hitler would finally determine the fates of the European nations.

And, after all, what was there to talk about? For as Himmler put it, Galicia "became all the more beautiful for having lost on our, so to say, initiative the residents who were so often a blemish on the good name of Galicia — that is, the Jews." And besides, continued Himmler, "in 1941 the Führer ruled that the part of the Ukrainian nation that constituted Galicia was already part of the Reich 150 years ago, and so, had to be incorporated into the *Generalgouvernement.*" So of what Ukraine, and of what "independence," could there possibly be any talk since Galicia had belonged to the Reich for 150 years, and the Reich was less than eager to lose her?

Moving on to division-related matters, Himmler admitted that the formation of the division had drawn criticism and dissatisfaction. "It was alleged," he said, "that all the volunteers were recruited to become no more than cannon fodder for the Germans." Resenting such attacks, Himmler countered them by saying, quite reasonably, that those predictions had so far failed to materialize because the division would not be moved to the front until a few weeks later.

Heinrich Himmler inspecting the SS Halychyna Division.

Хайлмер

Райхсміністер Г. Гіммлер у дивізії "Галичина"!
Зимовий 1944.

"We said that you would be given a good year's training. Now, I also know that it is not to the liking of some people outside the division, either; they keep saying that the Germans only subject you to insulting drills... But only he who keeps discipline, schools himself, obtains military knowledge, drills himself and his soldiers, does something for his people in the end. For if you move to the front with the knowledge obtained during your training, you are in your proper place. Along a 20, 30, or 40 km front given for defense or attack, you will be the shield of your nation and your *Vaterland.* If you succeed in doing so, you will be the glory of your people; you will bring harmony, order and obedience. And you probably know that the people's good rests upon orders and obedience."

Is this not the refined SS definition, in a nutshell, of "people's good" founded on "orders and obedience"?

Further developing his "orders — obedience" scheme, Himmler made the following demands upon Halychyna's personnel:

"1. No politics in the division. We are soldiers; our only policy is to fight the enemy...

"2. Another thing I demand of you is order, order in things large and small. Order is the foundation of civilization and culture; states are founded on order...

"3. My third demand is obedience. And this is what I mean: obedience begins the moment you carry out an order to do what is unsuitable to you. I know that if I ordered, 'Liquidate the Poles in this or that district,' I would be giving you permission to do what you would like to do anyway. But if I command, 'The division

marches in full order by this or that route to fight the Soviets at the front, for the Führer himself will enforce order on the Poles who robbed you and our Germans in Poland,' that is what you will have to do, though no sooner than you receive the corresponding order.

"Therefore, I expect that you, command corps, both Germans and Ukrainians, will demonstrate exemplary obedience and be, in all and sundry respects, a model for your rank and file.

"4. My fourth demand is comradely spirit... Be brethren, be comrades in this division of Europe, the division that has taken a holy oath of allegiance to the man who is the Führer of us all.

"5. The fifth, and last, thing I demand of you: loyalty to the man I have been speaking about, who will become the savior of Europe and the creator of your future. In a few weeks, the division will finish its training and move to the front... Tomorrow I will inspect a couple of battalions to find out what you have learned as soldiers and as commanders... I am confident that you will not let down the SS or me either..."

XXI. HALYCHYNA'S SS MEN RETURN TO GALICIA

By mid-1944 the Abwehr and the SS already had wide experience in the use, for their purposes, of military and paramilitary formations made up of residents of the occupied territories who chose to collaborate with the Nazis. They

gave orders to the *Polissya Sich* under Taras Borovets and the UPA under Roman Shukhevich. Painstakingly fulfilling their obligations concerning the struggle against Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Polish partisans, these formations assisted, provocateur-style, in establishing the New Order. The SS Halychyna Division also actively set about its job as an SS unit.

Yet since the division was understrength, the occupiers had more and more trouble administering the recalcitrant "eastern territories." This situation provoked new attempts to trap young people living in the parts of the Ukraine still in the Nazi grip into the net of the SS.

In May 1944, the SS Halychyna Division Military Council continued a frenzied search for ways to reinforce the division. At the same time, they called upon young Ukrainians to join the ranks of the "SS Youth" to do guard duty and prepare for a career with the SS. The appeal made it clear that only by joining the "SS Youth" would earn one full membership in Hitler-headed new European society. The authors also mentioned that "even 10-year-olds in Germany work to contribute to the victory..., and 15-year-olds give active help to air-defense" and that "SS Youth" units had been set up in such countries as France, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania.

The appeal of the SS division's Military Council read:

"Ukrainian youth!

"The European youth call on you to work for a new Europe. Lend a helping hand as a voluntary worker for German aviation in the ranks of the SS Youth.

"... Volunteer right away!

"... the Führer Adolf Hitler is calling upon you, too!"

The appeal was signed by Alfred Bisanz, head of the Military Council, Osip Navrotsky, head of its office, and Zenon Zeleny. A member of the division's Military Council appointed to his post by Wächter, governor of the District of Galicia, Zeleny doubled as head of the youth department of the Ukrainian Central Committee. Thus, both the division's Military Council and the UCC were bent on getting in with their Nazi masters at the expense of the young people they fooled and betrayed.

Curiously, despite Zeleny's past as an SS man, he had no trouble whatsoever in finding a snug refuge in Canada and continuing his mission as a "teacher." And more: he even rose to the head of the Ukrainian Canadian Teachers' Association, engaging himself in disseminating what experience he had gained during his criminal participation in the pro-Nazi UCC and the *Waffen SS*.

In his "Word on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Division," published in the nationalist press, Kubijovych attempted to dissociate himself from the criminal luring of young men into the "SS Youth." He stated: "In early 1944, the Germans conducted a draft of our young men for service in the air-defense in the so-called SS youth formations. We were against it."

But the truth of this claim can be measured against the fact that Zeleny, chief of the youth department at the UCC — headed by Kubijo-

vych himself — was one of the principal propagandists of enlistment in the "SS Youth."

Some other appeals of a similar pro-Nazi nature were also put out over the signatures of Zeleny and Navrotsky. Posing as participants in the struggle for liberation, they appealed both to Halychyna's SS men and to the Ukrainian youth. Beside their signatures are those of the SS Halychyna Division's Military Council members Volodimir Bilozir, Stepan Volynets, Mikhailo Kushnir, Yuri Krochmaliuk, Wasyl Laba, Lyubomir Makarushka, Andriy Paliy, Yevhen Pindus, Ivan Rudnitsky, Mikhailo Khronovyat and other Nazi collaborators.

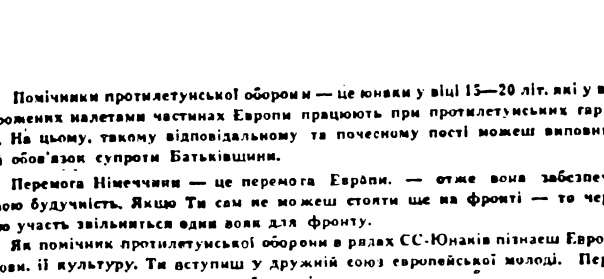
Here is one of the appeals:

"Ukrainian youth!

"In this, the crucial moment when the war has drawn nearer our Smaller Fatherland (Galicia — V. S.), we, former soldiers of Ukrainian armies, are appealing to your patriotic sentiments and to your minds: victory for our people will only be possible if all able-bodied Ukrainian youth of Galicia follow, in an organized manner, in the footsteps of the best among us who are laying, in SS volunteer military units, the foundations for a better future for the Ukrainian nation."

The SS catchers of young souls explained in their appeal to the youth that "volunteer air-defense assistants are young men of 15 to 20 years old who service air-defense guns in all European provinces endangered by air raids," and continued:

"Victory for Germany is victory for Europe, and it will ensure your future as well. Since you are unable to be at the front, each of you



Помічники протилетунської оборони — це юнаки у віці 15—20 літ, які у всіх загрожених малетами частинах Європи працюють при протилетунських гарматах. На цьому, такому відповідальному та почесному пості можеш виповнити свій обов'язок супроти Батьківщини.

Перемога Німеччини — це перемога Европи. — отже вона забезпечує і Твою будучність. Якщо Ти сам не можеш стояти ще на фронті — то через Твою участь звільниться один воїн для фронту.

Як помічник протилетунської оборони в рядах СС-Юнаків пізнаєш Европу, її мови, її культуру. Ти вступиш у дружній союз европейської молоді. Перед Тобою стоїть весела та щаслива будучність.

Ти матимеш ті самі харчі, помешкання та однострій, що й німецька молодь у воєнній службі. З Тобою будуть так само поводитися, як і з нею.

ТВОЇ БАТЬКИ ОДЕРЖАТЬ ДОПОМОГУ ТА ОХОРОНУ!

ТВОЯ БУДУЧНІСТЬ ЗАПЕВНЕНА!

ТВОЯ БАТЬКІВЩИНА БУДЕ НА ВІКИ ТВОЄЮ!

[illegible]

Another piece of propaganda: appeal for enlistment in the SS. The catchers of young souls pass out promises of doubtful value.

who participates will free a soldier for front line duty.

"As a volunteer air-defense assistant in the ranks of the SS Youth you will get to know Europe, her languages, and her culture. You will join a comradely union of European youth. A merry and happy future is in store for you.

"You will have the same catering, lodging, uniforms, and treatment that the German youth in military service have.

"Your parents will receive help and protection!

"Your future is ensured!

"Your Fatherland will be yours forever!"

Such was the atmosphere, tense because of a lack of "volunteers" to serve the Nazis, that marked the end of the drawn-out period of rais-

ing the SS Infantry Halychyna Division. This period was summed up by Reichsführer Himmler himself during his inspection visit at the time of the division's stay in Neuhammer.

In his address to the command personnel, Himmler praised the division's willing participation in slaughtering the Polish population. But the address was not free of reproach: for it was "on our initiative" (said Himmler) that the Jews in Galicia had been wiped out. Too bad! The residents of Galicia, now in the SS, should have shown more initiative in these undertakings even before, let alone after, they joined the ranks...

It stands to reason that in his propaganda address before a wide audience, Himmler could not say all he later said to the German commanding officers: nevertheless, he managed to drive home the unmistakable message: either you do more on the "pacification front," or else you find yourself on a Russian "20, 30, or 40 km front given for defense or attack."

So the division escalated terror against the local population under the cover-up slogan of struggle against "kike and Bolshevik partisans." As usual, the cruellest slaughter and devastation was inflicted by the Special Detached Company. Its total of civilians killed and tortured to death in a most brutal manner, including women, old people, and children already amounted to thousands, and that of burned villages, to dozens.

That company was the first to be moved to Lviv Region. In the beginning of June 1944, on the pretext of searching out partisans, the unit staged a reprisal against the residents of the

village of Ozhidiv in the former Olesko District *.

Having herded the residents into the village square, the SS men demanded that the partisans be delivered. Since their threats were of no avail, the SS men took aside some villagers and shot 25 on the spot, hanged 7, and killed another 15 after much abuse and torture.

But these killings failed to quench their thirst for blood: the SS men wrested 40 children from their mothers and drowned them in wells. The village of Ozhidiv was burned down; 953 residents were picked out for deportation to Germany, of whom 10 were killed during convoy.

A week later, on July 13, came the turn of the district center of Olesko. 100 (or 105, according to other sources) were shot to death; 12 were hanged; 50 died following or during torture; 120 were stifled in gas-chamber vans; 318 were rounded up to be deported to Germany for slave labor. Of these, 313 reached the assembly point and 5 were killed on the way.

From June 17 to 20, the company victimized the village of Pidhirtsi in Olesko District. 120 died in gas-chamber vans; 11 were hanged; 70 were shot or tortured to death; and 20 children were drowned in wells. All the able-bodied villagers were deported to Germany, but on the way the SS men continued their abuse of the prisoners, shooting down 15.

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* Here and further, the administrative division is according to the 1940s, as specified in documents of the Extraordinary State Commission on the Investigation into Crimes Committed by Nazi Invaders and their Accomplices Against Individuals, Collective Farms, Public Organizations and State Bodies and Industry in the USSR

For an entire week (June 25 to July 2, 1944) the Special Detached Company pacified the village of Kanty in Olesko District. As a result, 140 were killed outright or tortured to death; 11 were hanged; 120 died in gas-chamber vans, fulfilling what looked like the company's quota for that instrument of death; 700 were deported for forced labor in Germany. Of them, 11 were shot on the way to the railway station.

But the sufferings of the village of Kanty were not over yet. The next Sunday, July 9, was to become its Doomsday. In another raid of the SS company, the village was burned down and some 100 residents who still remained in the village were killed irrespective of sex or age.

On July 10, the SS company burned down the village of Ozhetsiv in Olesko District, killing nearly 70 residents.

A bloody pogrom lasting several days was perpetrated by the killers from the Special Detached Company in the town of Zolochiv, Lviv Region. Between July 12 and 20, nearly 400 were shot to death; 45 were hanged; 120 died in gas-chamber vans; 30 children were drowned; 1,400 were selected for deportation to Germany. Of them, 16 were shot on the way to the railway station.

The Germans who constituted the core of the Special Detached Company set an example of ruthless and wanton cruelty. During the November 23, 1943 pacification of the village of Kokhanivka, Erich Skopp, who was a product of the *Hitlerjugend*, personally killed 5 on the village square, knifing two of them; shot down 2, knifed 1, and drowned 3 children in a well;

shot down a man and a woman while escorting them to the railway station for deportation to Germany. In the course of the next action on November 27, he knifed 2 men and 1 woman; threw two infants into a well; and knifed one man during escort.

After the company returned to Galicia in June-July 1944, Erich Skopp shot down 2 in the village of Ozhidiv; 18 in the town of Olesko; and 5 in the village of Pidhirtsi. He also drowned 5 children in a well there. In the village of Kanty, he shot down 5, knifed a woman and a three-year-old child; in the town of Zolochiv he shot two men and drowned 2 children; later, he took part in the shooting of Soviet POWs in the concentration camp at Zolochiv.

The same kind of butchery was on the record of another *Hitlerjugend* man, Wolfgang Hans Birk. His collection of killings also included hangings, which he carried out in the town of Olesko, the villages of Kanty and Ozhetsiv in Olesko District, and in the town of Zolochiv.

A participant in all these operations was *SS Untersturmführer* Fritz Friedrich Glaser, awarded the Iron Cross, III Class, and the Eastern campaign medal. He supervised the killing of 12 and personally shot down 20 Soviet citizens in Olesko. He also supervised killings in the village of Kanty, Olesko District.

In most pacification actions, all company personnel, including drivers and men from the auxiliary services, participated. The latter specialized in shootings, hangings, gas-chamber-van killings, and in setting houses on fire.

Such was the performance of the Special Detached Company. After receiving indoctrination

at SS schools, the unit destroyed peaceful Polish civilians and was later sent by the SS Halychyna Division to Galicia, an area in Lviv Region, as the division's vanguard. The unit revealed itself in the bitter traditions of nationalistic "death battalions" of the Civil War period in the Ukraine, and in the traditions of the *Nachtigall* and *Roland* battalions. From June 3 through July 12, 1944, under the pretext of fighting "kike and Bolshevik" partisans, the "death company" hanged and killed in gas-chamber vans far over 1,500 peaceful civilians in the villages of Ozhidiv, Kanty, Pidhirtsi, and the towns of Olesko and Zolochiv; and rounded up thousands of able-bodied persons for deportation for forced labor in Germany.

In that manner, the SS men from the Halychyna Division marked their homecoming to Galicia which they had left a year before for training after a parade in Lviv.

In 1943, the Germans turned a blind eye to the fact that the Ukrainian nationalist slogans and tridents kept the Nazi swastika flashy and proud company. Trained by the SS, the division's men returned, under swastika-colors, to Galicia as the hangmen of their homeland, having altogether forfeited the right to the name of Ukrainians, Galicians, or sons of their native land. Souls they had no more: only their SS brands remained in place. One could (wrote Haj-Holovko in his diary) "neither hide it, nor refute the fact — all I have to do is raise my arm... and here it is..." That brand was seen by all the Galicians, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews; by all those against whom the watchdogs of the

German Nazis, the cutthroats from the SS Halychyna Division committed crimes.

Having committed heinous crimes in clearing Lviv Region of "kike and Bolshevik elements," the Special Detached Company prepared a bridgehead for the entire SS Halychyna Division. In early July 1944, it was moved closer to the front line that already crossed the territory of the former *Distrikt Galizien.*

XXII. THE ROUT AT BRODY

In 1943, the Supreme Command of the USSR Armed Forces laid down as a long-range objective "in the shortest possible time, to rid Soviet soil of the German invaders *." That task was successfully fulfilled. The year 1944 went down into the history of WWII as the one in which the Soviet armies gained decisive victories at the front.

On July 13, 1944, the Soviet troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front launched an attack on the Nazi *Northern Ukraine* Army Group. Over 900,000 strong, the group consisted of the German 1st and 4th panzer armies and the Hungarian 1st Army and was concentrated mainly within the Brody — Rava-Russka — Lviv triangle.

Mighty thrusts to the north and south of the town of Brody drew an 8-division grouping into a pocket. On July 22 the larger portion of

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* Order No. 309 dated November 7, 1943, by the Supreme Commander of the USSR Armed Forces, Joseph Stalin

the grouping was smashed. On July 27, 1944, the Soviet troops liberated Lviv and Stanislav (now the city of Ivano-Frankivsk). A month later, on August 29, the armies of the 1st Ukrainian Front accomplished yet another outstanding military operation of WWII. The Army Group *Northern Ukraine* lost 8 divisions: the casualties of another 32 hovered at between 50 and 70 percent of all personnel. A month's fighting cost the Nazis over 172,000 officers and men killed and taken prisoner.

Two months later, the order of the Soviet Supreme Commander concerning the liberation of Soviet soil from the German invaders was executed in full. The Nazi armies were expelled from the Soviet territory from the Black Sea in the South to the Barents Sea in the North. The liberation of the Ukraine was completed on October 14.

It was in the pocket at Brody that the 14th SS Halychyna Infantry Division met its inglorious end. Thus, the ancient Ukrainian town of Brody, first mentioned in history in the 12th century, witnessed another victory of a people's army against a horde of invaders. In 1920, also in July, the Soviet 1st Cavalry Army had liberated Brody from the Polish troops that had invaded the territory of the Ukraine with Petlura's nationalist units. The 1920 victory brought the re-establishment of Soviet power in Brody and the proclamation of the Galician Soviet Socialist Republic on the redeemed territory of Eastern Galicia. As a result of the 1944 rout of the German grouping, the Soviet troops reached the USSR's State Border of June 22, 1941.

The SS Halychyna Division had had only negligible experience in fighting against Soviet regular troops. The division's special units had "distinguished themselves" in the fighting at Ternopil in March 1944. (To quote from the division's "Chronicle": "When the Germans and our SS men cleared part of the city of Bolsheviks, we rounded up every single Pole, and locked them all in the cathedral, after which we exterminated them.") That role became the invariable pattern of employment assigned to the division's special units by the German Command. That gave SS *Berichter* Oleg Lysyak occasion to laud the division's special units in the June 22, 1944, issue of the Berlin newspaper *Holos. Ukraïnski visti.* He wrote that "they (the units) got their baptism of fire and proved themselves capable of standing beside the German soldier... Evidence of that was a festivity held to mark the anniversary of the announcement of the formation of the division in a divisional unit that is itself now at the front; this was the solemn occasion of decorating the best soldiers who had showed themselves to be worthy of bearing that mark of chivalrous gallantry, the Iron Cross."

But the "chivalrous gallantry" of the SS men from Galicia soon evaporated under the blows of the Soviet armies, and their unit, thoroughly battered, was withdrawn from the front.

Finally, in late June-early July, 1944, the division was moved by rail from Neuhammer to the front line. It was incorporated into General Gauffe's 13th Corps of the 4th Panzer Army. The division was still undermanned, with 11,000

officers and men instead of the required 18,000.

On July 14, the day after the beginning of the Soviet offensive, the SS Halychyna Division was sent to the front line. It was assigned the task of covering the retreat of the German 13th Corps and making sure the corps could disengage from the Soviet armies in pursuit. On July 15, shortly after the commitment, Halychyna and units of the 13th Corps found themselves encircled.

Some of the SS men who saw the battle at Brody and got away alive, in time finding themselves safe and abroad, have used reams of paper to write, each in his own way, of his own "heroism." But even more graphically, though grudgingly, they describe how the Soviet armies smashed the SS troops as the SS men blundered confusedly about the "death valley" near the town of Zolochiv — the very town where, just a week earlier, the division's men had massacred over 600 unarmed civilians. The blood of women and old people, the agony of drowned children, and the curses of innocent victims were visited upon their SS murderers.

On July 21-23, the remnants of the 13th Corps and what remained of the SS Halychyna Division managed to filter through the encirclement. By that time, the advance forces of the Soviet armies had moved far west.

Trained in subversion and the killing of unarmed civilians, ghetto-dwellers and prisoners in concentration camps, Halychyna's SS men, on the run under Soviet attack, destroyed all human life they came across, as well as material

and cultural values. They not only blew up defensive installations but also burned down whole villages. On July 19-20, 1944, the division's Special Detached Company perpetrated yet another brutal crime, shooting down 2,000 Soviet prisoners-of-war in the concentration camp at Zolochiv.

After the battle at Brody the SS Halychyna Division virtually was no more. According to *Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopaedia* by Kubijovych and Kuzela, around 3,000 of Halychyna's officers and men and as many Germans from the 13th Corps slipped through the encirclement; the division lost 7,000 killed and captured. Other "historians" set the number of survivors at a figure twice as low: 1,500.

In his article "The Battle at Brody," published in Munich in 1951, the former chief of staff of the division SS Major Haike wrote that the division's casualties had never been appraised with certainty. "There is no clear idea of the actual loss of personnel in the corps and division. It seems, though, that only part remained. The division's command numbers about 500 Ukrainians."

Some of the surviving SS men strayed to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army bands that were biding their time to begin terrorist activities in the liberated territory. Other survivors were moved to the Carpathians for re-formation.

News of the defeat and of the resultant flagging of morale reached *SS Brigadeführer* Wächter, the then chief administrator of the *Distrikt Galizien*, which by that time was almost liberated by the Soviet Army. Wächter paid a visit to the division's re-formation point to raise the

morale of his charges, drastically lowered by the Soviet troops.

When Wächter met divisional commander F. Freitag (wrote Major Haike) some time later, the latter described, in harsh, vivid terms, the division's poor performance on the battlefield and complained that such soldiers might cost him the respect of his superiors. He was not concerned with the fate of the soldiers he had flung into combat: he only feared that this assignment might prove to be the end of his career.

Afterwards, Freitag repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction with the poor military qualities of the men who had fought at Brody. Specifically, he took up the point when speaking, in September 1944, at the officers' courses set up in Kinslag, Czechoslovakia.

XXIII. NEW DIVISION: THE SAME OLD ASSIGNMENTS

Once again the *Ergänzungsamt* and the Halychyna Division's Military Council were facing the problem of recruitment — that is, a hunt for recruits to revive the smashed division. Its pitiful remnants had been brought to an Abwehr/SS den in the town of Neuhammer.

Whole bunches of policemen, officials from all kinds of German agencies, and collaborators of every description were being put into the division. Even deportees for slave labor in Germany were recruited by conscription or consent, provided they were able to bear arms. The Na-

zi-funded newspaper *Holos*, published in Berlin by Ukrainian nationalists, called out: "Young men — to arms! Ukrainian women — Germany calls upon you!"

Now the assembly points were receiving not only natives of Galicia or the Ukraine but also collaborators from other countries, since, to the Nazis, the fastest restoration of the division as an SS unit mattered most. In a relatively short time, the losses were replaced by whoever came to hand, with the division retaining its original structure.

On November 17, 1944, Reichsführer Himmler's order stripped the division of the name Halychyna, replacing it by another official designation: the 14th *Waffen Grenadieren Division der SS (Ukrainische No. 1)*. This was done to obtain additional replacement draftees for the division — virtually raised anew — mainly, in keeping with a wider principle of its formation. The division, however, continued to owe its existence to surviving SS operatives and former members of various police and paramilitary organizations driven from Soviet soil.

Nor was its role as a punitive unit dropped. By September 25, 1944, the units of the division were being used in punitive operations at Jamna in Tarnów District, Poland.

In the autumn of 1944, the SS division was sent to suppress the Slovak Uprising. V. Veryha wrote in his book *Along the Roads of WWII*: "Within three months, the routed Halychyna Division was reorganized and brought to normal strength. This time, with three-battalion regiments, it moved off to fight Soviet partisans in the territory of Slovakia."

In December, 1944, the units of the SS division sought to destroy a unit of the Polish People's Army known as "For a Free Motherland" under Captain Zygfryd Skutela and Soviet partisan detachments in the region of Turbacz.

Nationalist "historians" also make it known that in December, 1944, a battalion of the division under Lieutenant-Colonel Wildner took part in fighting at Budapest. Specifically, Volodimir Vashkovich wrote in the magazine *Ukrainskiy samostiynik*, No. 1—2, 1972: "The battalion under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wildner... won mentions in dispatches after the defeat of Slovak insurgents at Banska Bistrica and for participation in fighting at Budapest during the 1944 Catholic Christmas." In the magazine *Visti kombatanta*, No. 3, 1977, Vasyl Horbatyuk throws more light on exactly how the division's personnel had "distinguished themselves" on Hungarian territory. He wrote:

"(A thousand) of the division's personnel — 400 from Kirschbaum and 600 from Neuhammer... under the command of First Lieutenant Frolyak rode to Hungary in the second half of July. They had been told they were to join the cavalry units of the Ukrainian division.

"During the movement, the transport was escorted by Polish *Volksdeutsche* NCOs who treated the boys in a brutal manner... When shooting from a pistol, *SS Unterscharführer* Radke took aim (just to scare, said Radke) straight at the head of Kohut, a native of Lviv, who was sitting by the door of a car. (Editor's note. Markian Kohut, allegedly shot down by Radke, has been living in Toronto for years,

running a successful travel bureau... *Unterscharführer* Radke shot down Hutzulia's son whose name has yet to be known. Kohut was only wounded.)

"... After the arrival in Hungary and several days' stay in the towns of Toto, Komarom, Lepsyn and other localities the 1,000 Ukrainian troops were split up, against their will, among German SS units. They received basic training. Afterwards, since the front line was being fast pushed westwards, they were flung, together with their units, into fierce and prolonged fighting in defense of Budapest and were encircled by Bolshevik troops.

"... Very few of our guys were lucky to get out alive and make it, with great difficulties, to the division's units."

These men under Wildner and Frolyak truly "distinguished themselves": barely out of the pocket at Brody they ran for dear life from Budapest.

Afterwards, individual units of the division would take part, on and off, in fighting against the Soviet armies. Still, the division was mainly used where the Germans thought it of maximum benefit — that is, as a punitive unit for stifling partisan movements in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia (Slovenia).

In his article "On a Book about the Ukrainian Division Halychyna," published in the magazine *Ukrainskiy samostiynik* No. 1—2, 1972, Vashkovich wrote:

"A second division was not formed until the mid-summer of 1944... Its personnel consisted of survivors from Brody youngsters pressed into service in the western parts of the Ukraine

during the German retreat, all types of police and *Schutzmann* detachments previously used to guard administrative establishments and industrial installations, persons who had been forced to work in Germany, and even some political prisoners set free for the purpose. Over 2,000 young officers completed basic training and returned to the newly-formed division; but the ranks of the NCOs had been badly battered in the defeat at Brody.

"... The division was used at the front during the last six months of the war. Its composition, as well as fighting value, varied greatly, regiment to regiment and company to company. Thus, Lieutenant-Colonel Wildner's battalion showed itself tough in combat... On the other hand, some of the units took to panicky flight after the first skirmish with the enemy."

Vashkovich was an officer in Wildner's battalion, hence the build up he gave to the battalion's toughness and, especially, to its services during the suppression of the Slovak Uprising. During that police action, the division's command kept close contact with Höfle, SS chief of punitive elements in Bratislava, accounting to him for the progress of their work. And that work consisted of executions and killings of insurgents and plunder and annihilation of whole localities whose residents were accused of assisting "Jewish and Bolshevik partisans" — a regular SS trick.

Vashkovich himself blurts out the ways and customs that prevailed in the division. Thus, he describes the attempt to rape a local Slovak girl by a certain Zvarich, an enlisted man in Vashkovich's unit and former *Schutzmann.* The

leader of the company Vashkovich served in bought prostitutes. Bruderhofer, formerly a policeman and now adjutant to the battalion commander, was the "regimental Abwehr" i. e., he spied on one and all.

The "services" the division rendered in Slovakia are dealt with in detail in the *History of the Ukrainian Host.* Mykola Kapustyansky states in one of his articles: "Throughout the stay in Slovakia, the division's command maintained close contacts with the German C-in-C in Bratislava, keeping him informed by regular situation reports. The C-in-C, for his part, extended full support to the division — especially important when it came to issuing of arms, clothing, and horses. A large part of the spoils captured after the suppression of the Slovak communist uprising — mainly carts and horses — went to the division."

In Slovakia, the division operated in close cooperation with the Slovak Nazi *Garda* organization and its leader Hlinka. Yet nothing could turn the tide: neither a union with local Nazis, nor patronage extended by the German "C-in-C," nor Iron Crosses given to the most meritorious hangmen. In December 1944, the Soviet Army crossed into Slovakia. The division had to flee again.

This time it was moved to Yugoslavia with a view to shoring up the struggle against the Yugoslavian People's Liberation (Partisan) Army under Josip Broz Tito.

The division's biographers tend to display remarkable reserve when describing its Yugoslavian period (late February-March, 1945). In his *Along the Roads of World War II* Veryha

confines himself to an exceedingly laconic: "... in early spring it continued to fight the Soviet satellite in the fields of Slovenia" (page 82). Page 123 clarifies the point with the information that the division "was fighting Tito's partisans in Slovenia."

The reason for this silence could not be clearer. Neither the Halychyna Division nor any other punitive detachments the Nazis flung against the Yugoslavian partisans were able to subdue the nationwide anti-Nazi movement. Yugoslavia went to the partisans, and the division suffered severe losses, being forced to retreat into Austria.

Nor is Veryha's "reticence" a mystery. He fell into the hands of Yugoslavian partisans who took away his documents and shoulder straps of a "cadet NCO" as he referred to himself.

Veryha was set free only after he burst into tears, crying that he was not an SS man; that he had not wanted to serve with an SS division but had been forced to do so by the hated Germans. Once free, he headed straight for his SS superiors to solicit a pardon. For sure, he got a good bawling-out from the 9th Company leader *Khorunzhy* Pitlyar and the 3rd Battalion commander Major Witenmeier.

XXIV. "THE 1st UKRAINIAN DIVISION OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ARMY"

March 1945 saw an attempt by the Nazis to collect Ukrainian nationalists fleeing to the West and to induce them to put up a more vig-

orous struggle against the USSR. When the total collapse of Nazi Germany was already in sight, the town of Weimar became the birthplace of the Ukrainian National Committee set up under General Shandruk. That appointment was partly the work of Alfred Rosenberg, chief of the so-called "Eastern Ministry" (Reich Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories). Rosenberg honored Shandruk with a personal message dated March 12, 1945.

According to Kubijovych and Veryha, the UNC had enough time to produce some declarations appealing to Ukrainians on German territory. On the very same day, March 17, 1945, the appointment of Shandruk as commander of the Ukrainian National Army was announced. Incidentally, this was never any more than an army on paper.

Characterizing the UNC, Kubijovych wrote that "it was already unable to play a role of any importance since the German Armed Forces, under attack from east and west, were disintegrating right before our eyes..." In that situation the Germans plunged into yet another venture. Order No. 71, dated April 24, 1945, renamed the 14th *Waffen Grenadieren Division der SS (Ukrainische No.1)* the "1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army (1st UD of UNA).

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists of diverse hues and leanings persist in attempts to explain that fact. Their intention is to represent the 1st Ukrainian Division, as well as the SS Halychyna Division as the "prototype" of what they would be fond of styling as the "Ukrainian Liberation Army." Thus, on May 14, 1968, the

so-called President of the "Ukrainian National Republic in Exile" in Munich, Mykola Livytsky, congratulated his subjects "on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the formation of the 1st Ukrainian Division." His message read that "those on whose initiative the division was formed had a mind to lay the foundation of a new Ukrainian Army." The actual occasion was the 25th anniversary of the formation of the Halychyna Division as part of Himmler's SS troops rather than the anniversary of the 1st Ukrainian Division.

That day, May 14, 1968, was a field day for former SS men from the 1st UD of the UNA. The "Military Department of the Executive Body of the Ukrainian National Republic," too, made them happy by announcing that the "State Center of the Ukrainian National Republic in Exile" deems it expedient to incorporate the 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army into the Armed Forces of the Ukrainian National Republic. That was implemented by an order dated March 15, 1945, signed by the then President of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Head *Otaman* (military leader — V. S.), and confirmed by an order dated May 14, 1968, signed by the incumbent President of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Head *Otaman.*

It seems that the itch to share in renaming the Halychyna Division the 1st Ukrainian Division of the UNA finally proved irresistible for "President" Livytsky's opportunistic following. Back in March 1945, the SS leadership put forward a certain "legislative" "Ukrainian National Committee," on whose behalf some papers were handed out concerning the 1st Ukrainian

Division of the Ukrainian National Army. Now the "State Center in Exile" is also vying for the right to count that division as part of their "Army."

But going back: in late April 1945 the Soviet Army and the Allied Forces were mounting overwhelming attacks on the last defensive lines of Hitler's Germany. In that stormy period, German SS men were frenziedly covering up their bloody traces, bent on dissociating themselves from the atrocities of the Halychyna Division, now nominally a unit of the "Ukrainian National Army" and not of the *Waffen SS*. Yet the SS leadership continued to urge the former Halychyna men to struggle further against the USSR even after the complete defeat of Hitler's Germany — but two weeks away.

Even in that critical period, the Nazis would not renounce their policy of giving posts and appointments in the division to reliable SS-and-policemen. On the strength of that practice, the choice for the divisional commander fell to P. Shandruk, a policeman and pogromist with almost 40 years of experience.

The nationalists maintain that the changing of the division's name and the takeover of command brought Ukrainian ways to the division. By the same token, Shandruk is lauded as an ardent champion of the interests of the division as well as of the whole of the Ukraine.

There was still another attempt by the German command to use the 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army to stem the Soviet advance in Styria, Austria. But Shandruk's main preoccupation at the time was to surrender the division to the Allies (to the British, to

be more exact), precluding, at all costs, its capture by the Soviet troops.

And what kind of man was the new division commander, anyway?

Who is who

PAVLO SHANDRUK

Pavlo Feofanovich Shandruk was born in the town of Lubny in Poltava Province in 1889. He graduated from a classical high school in the town of Ostrog, then in Volyn Province. On June 21, 1908 "with an unflagging desire to serve the Tsar and the Fatherland," he applied for the position of a supernumerary police inspector in Lubny. According to documents, he was getting on well in the police. A year later he was appointed police officer in the municipal police of the town of Kharkiv.

During the civil war period in the Ukraine, Shandruk found himself in the nationalist camp. In 1919 he was in command of an infantry brigade within the so-called 3rd Iron Division in the army of the counterrevolutionary government of the Ukrainian National Republic. His training with the police had its effect on his career in the army. Shandruk showed especial brutality toward prisoners-of-war: he issued his brigade a no-prisoners order. He also incurred the hatred of the division's rank-and-file for his despotism and promptness to hand out punishment for trifling infractions.

Shandruk also earned a reputation as a rabid anti-Semite and pogromist.

The following facts are from the book *Pogromchik* by Saul S. Friedman, published in New York City in 1976:

Reminded of the Sanelkov pogrom perpetrated by his subordinate Colonel Shandruk, Oudovichenko * concerned that the town had been bombarded in the summer of 1919 because it lay within the battle zone and because the Bolsheviks had occupied it. In the course of the barrage, Christians as well as Jews had been killed and wounded.

According to E. I. Bograd, Acting Director in the Department of National Self-Government **, the Iron Battalion, particularly those units under Colonel Pavlo Shandruk... devastated the region of Mohiliv *** in September, 1919. Tongues were cut out, and eyes plucked out as well. Hundreds were dying of starvation, and at least one hundred lay dead in Shargorod as a result of the activities of Oudovichenko's regular troops.

At Kurilivtsi, Colonel Pavlo Shandruk commanded the regular *Haidamak* Cossacks and the regular 9th Sharpshooters Regiment, which carried out a massacre of the Jews.

Shandruk and his 9th Regiment again massacred Jews in Verkhivka-Bibikov, Snitkiv, and Shargorod in June-July, 1919.

The following conclusions are inescapable:

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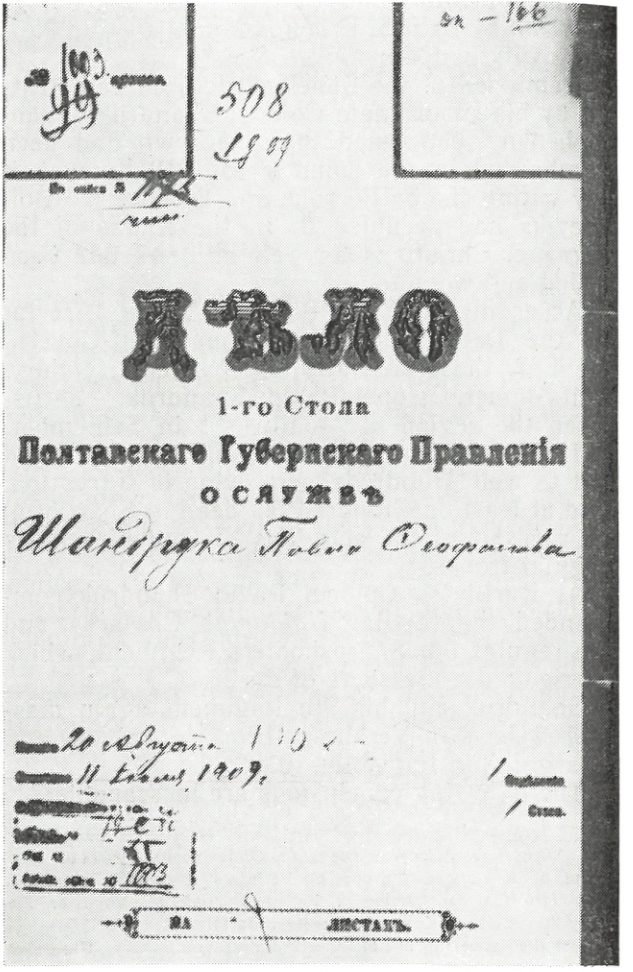
* *Khorunzhy*-General Olexandr Oudovichenko was in command of a 3-division group of Petlura's troops. S. Friedman calls him the commander of Petlura's *Zalizna Sotnya* or *Zalizny Kurin* (Iron Company, or Iron Battalion)

** the government of the counterrevolutionary Ukrainian National Republic

*** now Mohiliv-Podilsky, Vinnitsya Region



Shandruk's file and application for a position in the police.

21 Іюня

Его Высокоблагородію
Господину Лубенскому Уѣздному
Исправнику.

Окончившаго Остромскую Волынской губерніи классическую гимназію Павла Ѳеофанова Шандрука проживающаго въ г. Лубнахъ

Прошеніе

Имѣя непреклонное желаніе служить Царю и Отечеству въ Министерствѣ Внутреннихъ Дѣлъ, честь имѣю всепокорнѣйше просить Ваше Высокоблагородіе ходатайствовать передъ Его Превосходительствомъ Господиномъ Полтавскимъ Губернаторомъ о назначеніи меня сверхштатнымъ Околоточнымъ Надзирателемъ города Лубенъ.

Павелъ Шандрукъ

При семъ прилагаю: 1, Аттестатъ Зрѣлости, 2, Метрическое свидѣтельство, 3, Свидѣтельство о приписке къ призывному участку, 4, свидѣтельство о званіи, 5, фотографическую карточку.

21 іюня 1908 года.

Г. Губернатора

Назначенъ сверхшт. околоточн. Надзирателемъ Г. Полтавскимъ ... Лубенскаго Исправника 20 августа 1908 г.

... 2. Units of the Ukrainian Army directly under his (Simon Petlura's) supervision (the Battalions of Death) committed numerous atrocities. Instead of being punished, the leaders of these units (Oudovichenko, Palienko, Angel, Patrov, and Shandruk) received promotions.

Having fled the Ukraine for Poland, Shandruk, in an interned persons' camp, rose still higher to become a divisional commander; in 1923, he was promoted to Major-General by the "government of the Ukrainian National Republic."

In 1927, he was a general appointed for special duties under Andriy Livytsky, a "governor without a government," and the closest associate of Colonel Chebotaryov, Petlura's intelligence chief. In 1930, he was an assistant to General Zmienko, intelligence chief of the Ukrainian National Republic, and had immediate contacts with the 2nd Department of the Polish General Staff that supervised spying and subversive activities against the Soviet Union.

In 1936, Shandruk joined the Polish Army with the rank of a major and attended a military academy. In 1939, after some time in captivity after the Nazis had occupied Poland, he soon went over to the service of Nazi Germany.

In 1948, when the war was already over, Shandruk was a member of the so-called "Ukrainian National Council" and head of its "Chief Military Council." Shortly thereafter, he left Germany for the USA. In the USA, he was temporarily put to use for so-called consultations; there were also attempts to appoint him to leading positions in nationalist organizations.

These attempts failed miserably. In the USA,

Shandruk was stuck with the nickname "old shandrydan," used even by his American superiors. This is surely not the kind of nickname that can take one far. And besides, American Ukrainians unerringly discerned the Nazi swastika and the SS brand on him.

* * *

Despite the new name, the 1st UD of the UNA, the new commander, Shandruk, and the new insignia (the nationalist trident was now allowed on the head-dress), the division was by no means rid of SS supervision.

When, in April 1945, the Soviet armies broke through the German and Hungarian defensive lines near the town of Feldbach, the German command threw the 1st Ukrainian division into the breakthrough. That episode gained the division no glory, since the sole preoccupation of the division's officers and men was to steer clear of the Soviet troops and save their skins by surrendering to the Western Allied armies.

The war was drawing to an end. Both the German Nazis and the Ukrainian nationalists were increasingly worried. Ever more often they speculated: "Now what?" How were they to conceal their SS past? How were they to survive?

Following the example of Nazis, Ukrainian nationalist chieftains sought to throw those investigators off the scent who would demand to be told in exacting detail about their activities during WWII. Were they anti-Nazi or, on the contrary, had they eaten out of the Nazis' hands?

Promptly, announcements of the deaths of many nationalist leaders at the hands of the Germans nestled as thickly as snowflakes in the pages of newspapers. By way of example, here is an announcement from the newspaper *Ukrainski holos* (Winnipeg, Canada), No.13, March 28, 1945:

"The newspaper *Novy shlyakh* carries a report by Professor O. Granovsky * (University of Minnesota) who received, on March 12, a cable from Paris announcing the murders of Melnyk, Vasyl Boykiv, Ye. Onatsky, and Andrievsky — members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists leadership.

"The news came... from a reliable source."

... Earlier, though unsubstantiated, reports made known the murder in German camps of the opposition Ukrainian nationalists leaders Stephen Bandera, Stetsko, and others."

Similar announcements appeared in the newspaper *Buduchnist natsii* (Yorkton, Canada) No.7(175), April 1, 1945, and in other nationalist publications.

In an attempt to hide and ride out the storm while the Third Reich was crumbling, the nationalists also sought to create a semblance of antagonism with the Nazis. Otherwise, what would have been reason for the Germans to "kill" OUN leaders? Incidentally, the postwar period set in with all the OUN "leaders," whose body count had been made in those utterly untruthful announcements, quite alive and continuing their nationalist activities.

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* head of the OUN-affiliated Organization for the National Rebirth of the Ukraine in the USA

Few documents or records saw the light during that period, apart from a few outright falsehoods. Documents became things to be feared, and whole archives were destroyed to prevent them from furnishing, with time, incriminating evidence.

In February 1945, Olexa Haj-Holovko, a graduate of a *Berichter* school and a member of the *Skorpion-Ost* staff reported in at the SS (former Halychyna) Division for work as an editor.

He made records in his diary in that period which, though rambling and incomplete, are fully illustrative of the time and of the events that were taking place within the division and without.

XXV. FROM OLEXA HAJ-HOLOVKO'S DIARY

February 5—6, 1945. My things have come. The Berlin *Sturmbannführer* arrived. I received the order to go to Vienna. (An earlier record read: "The *Sturmbannführer* tells me that he is sending me to Vienna as the editor of the divisional newspaper." — V. S.).

February 6. The Bolsheviks are driving like mad.

February 9, 1945. Left Vilvara for Prague. Left for Vienna at night. Went with three German women.

February 10, 1945. Got to Vienna in the morning. Dropped in at the editorial office.

... Work at the editor's office. The company's lousy. I am taken not for an editor or a jour-

nalist but for a soldier. Well, I do work like one.

February 17, 1945. Rode to Marburg with Konrad. Passed Bruck, Graz, Leitnig. Got deeper still into the mountains. The mountains are crawling with Slovenians.

.... Returned on February 25...

... Fighting for Breslau.

Yalta Conference.

Hitler's address.

Goebbels' address.

Sunday, March 25, 1945. I was in the editor's office from early in the morning till 11 a. m. Krawchishin came and said that the British and the Americans had dropped paratroopers in the mountains in the German rear. Lieutenant Siletsky came to see me. We talked about the war.

March 27, 1945. Rode to Gizing with Lieutenant Siletsky. Talked with Khronowiat. Met Petrenko. Everyone is depressed.

Coming back, I asked Krawchishin to let me go and have my hair cut. He wouldn't let me. Another big shot, damn it. Beastly, beastly and beastly...

Wednesday, March 28, 1945. Went to eat in *Soldatenheim Fleischmarkt*. Back on Saturday, March 24, I got a letter from Stepanenko, a very good letter. Am writing back. Am writing to Miller, too. Writing objectively about the situation I got. Want to go back to the S. O. (*Skorpion Ost* — V. S.) staff. I wrote to V. about that and will send the letter with a messenger.

The Bolsheviks are making dreadful thrusts toward Danzig in the north and in Hungary in

the south. I'm terribly hungry. Have used up some of my ration cards, and lost the rest. And money can buy you nothing... All the while, my "superiors" eat sausages and have enough bread.

... Thursday, March 29, 1945. I have been to the publishing house and read a declaration of the Ukrainian National Committee dated March 17. It is signed by Pav. Shandruk, Vol. Kubijovych, Olex. Semenenko and Petro Tereshchenko. Concurrently (March 18, 1945), the Presidium of the Ukrainian National Committee appointed Pavlo Shandruk the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian National Army. The declaration was issued on behalf of the Ukrainian citizenry.

When I came home at night, I met Yurko, Yendyk, his brother, and Lazar at my place. Halya Chuyko played hostess. A smart one, she: she appears with or rather clings tight to anyone who can be of benefit to her. There was also Zaliznyak, who told me interesting things about Konovalets, Melnyk, and Jary. (Jary was posing as President of the Ukraine and bought an estate near Vienna.)

The whole company, except Zaliznyak, seemed so alien to me that I felt almost sick.

Friday, March 30, 1945. Menert came. He told me to sweep the floor, carry out the slops, and fetch some water. Konrad works willingly for he capitalizes on his job as messenger. If that old, tricky crackpot weren't a brown-nose, things would be real tough for him.

...Before the alarm my old friend Ivan Prokopovich Bezpechny dropped in on me. We shared our impressions. Nothing to boast for

both of us. We talked about Lyubchenko who had died in Berlin on the 1st. Talked about the treatment that he, in poor health, was getting from the haughty Galician magnates.

... After the alarm Lieutenant Schulz said that starting today, Vienna is under martial law. Alarm. Everyone has to be in his place. We have to live in the editorial office. I have brought my things here. Live in the editorial office. A skirmish with Menert because I did not wait for him and left for lunch.

Sunday, April 1, 1945. ... Talked with Hajworonsky about recent events and prospects. 4 Hungarian divisions have gone over to the Bolshevik side...

April 2, 1945. ... Went to the "Cossacks" (so-called "Free Cossacks" — V. S.) but did not find them in. Rode to the Ukrainian Central Committee. They were burning their papers.

April 3, 1945. In the morning, there was an order to pack up. We packed up. Are waiting. Went to lunch and saw German tanks. Saw also German front-line soldiers... The place is in turmoil. The fall of Neustadt has been broadcast. I climbed on the roof — a great glow can be seen. Fell down. Hurt my hands. I am going to have trouble carrying my things. Mariyka Lisyak came. [She is] pregnant. She was to have gone with Brockman, but she did not... We might head for Krems...

April 4, 1945. ... 10 persons crammed into the body of a truck. We are riding. Column after column of prisoners are being led.

... Around 4 p. m. we reach Krems. We are led to the barracks.

April 5, 1945. At 8 p. m. two trucks bring

along the remainder of the men and their things. Vavr. arrived at Vienna and commanded that we go back there... Menert came from town and said that he would go himself. Thank God! Krawchishin wanted to accompany him, but he also stayed behind.

... Everyone drunk in the barracks after a barrelful of wine. There are drunks in town, too. Disgusting.

April 6, 1945. ... I find Vavr. in the barracks. He has a long talk with Krawchishin. I am sleepy. It is Vavr. who wakes me up. I follow him outside.

"You want to go to the *Skorpion*?"

"Yes," I say.

"You see, I have decided that you might stay with me for three to five weeks. As for the *Skorpion*, it is coming here, too. I will let you go in three or four weeks."

Nothing to be done, I have to stay on.

"We will go to Linz, then on to Marburg."

"O. K.," I say, "but I'll have to be fixed up as an officer. Hope you won't interfere with me."

"No."

Vavr., in a defeatist mood, is therefore a markedly changed man.

Krawchishin has been thinking all along how to put off the trip.

... The evacuation is in full swing.

... I come to the barracks. Only Krawchishin is around. Vavr. is some place in town. The Germans are drinking again. They pour some wine for me into a canteen cap. I drink it. Undress and lie down to sleep. But suddenly, a rude corporal says that today we are going by

steamship to Linz. In anger, I get dressed and tie up my bedding. I load my things on a cart and we make for the port. This night I spend with the officers, on the floor of a dirty room. The Bolsheviks are in the suburbs of Vienna. Vienna is defended by Ditrich. In the west the English and the Americans are pushing hard. Rumor has it that Hannover has fallen.

Saturday, April 7, 1945. All day long we are drenched by rain on the steamship's deck...

April 10, 1945.... Linz is already in sight. An *SS Hauptscharführer* comes and says that a pistol is missing. There will be a search. I am nervous because I have a "pumpkin" in my backpack...

April 11, 1945. We sit on the riverbank till midday. All our things are with us. An alarm. And another...

Around 1 p. m. Krawchishin and Menert come.

We take our things to the hotel. We also have to carry heavy things.

Thursday, April 12, 1945.

Get acquainted with the town...

In the evening, I went to see Ziblikevich at the hotel. These bigwigs are very well off...

Friday, April 13, 1945. Roosevelt is dead. The Germans announced in newspapers and posters that he had been snatched by the Devil.

Saturday, April 14, 1945.

Like Krawchishin, I wanted to wangle ration cards for "my family," but was too late.

... This is some way to end the war.

Sunday, April 15, 1945. On Saturday and today I wrote two anti-Bolshevik poems. Since

I know no one here, I passed a sad day. Menert left "to look for" type.

Monday, April 16, 1945. I got ration cards for "my family." We listened in at Ziblikevich's. The Bolsheviks are 60 km from Linz. The English and the Americans are 20 km from Hamburg and close to Leipzig and Bremen.

Tuesday, April 17, 1945.

The Committee's head has left. Little by little the Ukrainians are leaving, too. I have obtained ration cards.

Last night I listened in at Ziblikevich's place. The Allies are breaking through. The Gauleiter went on the air. He said that the Bolshevik beasts and sub-humans were making a drive but were being repulsed.

Wednesday, April 19, 1945. Menert has come. He wants to go to Marburg. Alarm in the morning.

May 5, 1945. 30th Regiment, 1st Battalion, 1st Company. The chief is Herasimovich. Kataman is the *Zugführer* (platoon commander — V. S.).

1. At night I went to our *Stellung* (positions — V. S.) with Lieutenant Herasimovich on the right flank. *Zugführer* Kataman (a tall young dark-haired man).

2. Talked with Mikhailo Kalinyak (Konchak's *Zug*) from Buchach District (...a small-featured man, stammering from fear).

3. A relief (Kataman's *Zug*) of position at 11 p. m. Savchuk refused to go to the reserve.

4. Easter — the Bolsheviks did not fire.

5. "Unharness the horses, lads."

6. A new make of *Panzerfausts* (...we took 4 and gave 4 away to the others).

* * *

Here the confused and desultory records in Haj-Holovko's diary break off.

XXVI. GANG OF WAR CRIMINALS

In April 1945 the SS leadership renamed the 14th *Waffen Grenadieren Division der SS* the 1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army (UNA). A month earlier saw the creation in Germany of the "Ukrainian National Committee" whose head, General Shandruk, was also made C-in-C of the entire non-existent army. In his book *Along the Roads of World War II* V. Veryha wrote that the UNA was to consist of the 1st SS Ukrainian Division, the "Ukrainian Liberation Army," and, possibly, "Ukrainian Cossack" detachments and "evacuated units of the Ukrainian police" (p. 147).

Under the "Ukrainian" names of the "Liberation Army" operated German-formed army units. The role assigned to them was the same as that of the "Russian Liberation Army" under the traitor General Vlassov: to serve as auxiliary and guard army units the German command could use at will. Specifically, these "national," "liberation" troops were actively used in various punitive operations, and for subversive, propaganda, and demoralization activities directed against both Soviet citizens in the Nazi-occupied territory and the Soviet Army.

There was another feature that all sorts of "foreign units and formations" had in common. Whoever their original creator was, the Wehrmacht or Nazi "guard detachments" (SS), they

were transferred to the SS troops by Hitler's order dated August 26, 1944. Still earlier, on the day and, in fact, as a result, of an attempt on Hitler's life (July 20, 1944) SS Reichsführer Himmler had received new, extended powers. He was also appointed commander of a reserve army, which had so-called *Volksgrenadieren* divisions and other "people's" divisions among its elements.

The "Ukrainian Liberation Army" is mentioned in the "Chronicle of the SS Halychyna Infantry Division."

"December 6, 1943: ... A soldier of the Ukrainian Liberation Army reported in at the adjutants' office, transferring to the Halychyna Infantry Division. When queried about the reason for the transfer, he said that all the 4,000 trainees at the school at Rempikau thought that the division had already been formed while the elements of the Ukrainian Liberation Army were under a non-Ukrainian command. The servicemen of the Ukrainian Liberation Army have a shoulder patch with a yellow and blue shield and a golden trident on their right shoulders. Above is the acronym '*YBB*' (the Ukrainian for the Ukrainian Liberation Army)."

Wide of the mark, warrior: in December 1943, the whole SS Halychyna Division was under the command of German NCOs. Even showpiece Galician arm patches bearing the lion had been removed.

Below is another mention of the Ukrainian Liberation Army in the "Chronicle":

"March 16 (1944). Lviv.

"When I was on my way to work in the editorial office of the newspaper *Do peremohy* in

the morning, I chanced to witness a curious episode. From afar, I heard a military unit singing. The tune suggested something 'homey.'* When the platoon came closer, I heard them singing: *'A tam, lish podnyaf zanavesku...'*. Then everyone joined in: *'Marsh vperyod, truba zavyot, nalivayte chary...'** The men had our national colors and the inscription *'УВВ'* on the right sleeve of their German uniforms. What a curious mixture of moods and allegiances!"

Talk of the forthcoming incorporation of the Ukrainian Liberation Army and "Cossack" units into Shandruk's "Ukrainian National Army" was to remain mere talk. It was different, though, with the "evacuated Ukrainian police units." The out-of-work policemen were pressed into service with the SS division. No retraining was in order since, in fact, the division itself carried out largely police functions.

At various times, the division incorporated Nazi-tailored "Ukrainian" formations, the Detachment of Ukrainian Nationalists *(Druzhyna Ukrainskikh Natsionalistiv)* and the Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion, which were, in fact, German punitive units that had perpetrated heinous crimes against national resistance movements and peaceful civilian populations in the Nazi-occupied territories of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, Yugoslavia.

Having brought these slaughterers on the strength, the SS Halychyna Division and its successor, the 1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army, became involved in,

* In the original *"rodnoye,"* a Russian word

** The writer gives the Russian words of the song in Ukrainian transliteration.

and truly responsible for, the crimes they had committed. The crimes of its operatives were the crimes of the division itself.

THE "DETACHMENT OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS"

Even before Hitler's *Drang nach Osten*, the Nazi Abwehr organized in Austria, with direct participation of Bandera's OUN, the Detachment of Ukrainian Nationalists (DUN) within the system of *Organisation Roland*. These pretentious names were actually used as camouflage by the *Roland* Battalion that was closely connected with the Abwehr's *Brandenburg* reconnaissance and sabotage regiment — later, the *Brandenburg* Division. The DUN was made up of four companies, each numbering 120 to 160 officers and men. Known otherwise as the *Roland* Battalion, it was said to be under the command of Major Yevhen Pobihushchy, but its actual chief was none other than the notorious Nazi supervisor Richard Jary.

The Nazis formed the *Roland* Battalion at the same time as the *Nachtigall* Battalion under the command of a German, Albrecht Herzner, and Roman Shukhevich, alias Major Tur.

The task assigned to both units which took priority was to render effective assistance to SS and SD detachments in clearing the Ukraine of "pro-Soviet elements" and Jews after the invasion of the USSR.

Nachtigall's activities in the city of Lviv and the destruction of the flower of the Lviv intelligentsia (including Ukrainians, Poles and Jews) have been dealt with above. A similar

mission was given to the DUN, or the *Roland* Battalion, attached to the Rumanian Army within the southern grouping of the invasion troops. *Roland's* area of operation was Izmail, Odessa, and Mikolaiv regions.

Coordination of the murderous activities of the *Roland* and the *Nachtigall* battalions came from a single center. One of those who handled the job was Theodor Oberlender, a war criminal and no bottom man in the Nazi Abwehr hierarchy. Oberlender carried out direct "political leadership" of the battalions. For the purposes of "political indoctrination" of the battalions' janissaries, the tale was cooked up that Shukhevich's *Nachtigall* and Pobihushchy's *Roland* represented the "Ukrainian Legion" as the prototype of a "Ukrainian Army."

Upon the accomplishment of their priority task, the two battalions were indeed brought together but not into a "Ukrainian Legion." They became a special-mission *Schutzmannschaftbattalion-201* with punitive and police tasks. On March 19, 1942 the newly-formed unit in the *SS und Polizei* troops was placed at the command of *SS Obergruppenführer* Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski and of Group Center police in the occupied territory of Byelorussia. That fact is undeniable and not even the nationalists themselves can conceal it. Thus, the newspaper *Svoboda* published by Ukrainian nationalists in the USA, carried a report by Mykola Lebed on June 14, 1960. It read: "As for the battalion's further history, upon its re-formation it was incorporated, as a battalion and also with some men and officers of the *Roland* Battalion, into the German Gendarmery and

moved, in 1942, to Byelorussia to combat Red partisans. The command of the unit was given to Major Pobihushchy."

In 1943, part of that punitive unit's personnel under the command of Pobihushchy was incorporated into the SS Halychyna Division.

Who is who

JANISSARIES FROM THE DETACHMENT OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

In his novel *When the Ukraine was in a Bustle* the Soviet Ukrainian writer Petro Panch described, in a succint and forceful manner, the tragic fate of the Ukrainian lad Kassyan. Kidnapped from the Ukraine by Tartar slave-raiders, it was not until some twenty years later that he returned to his homeland as a Turkish janissary under the name of Kussayan (Turkishized Kassyan). His mother recognized him, and something stirred in him, too; but she died from a sabre-thrust. As she died, she cursed her renegade son, and that rang forth as an allegory of the Motherland laying a curse on all those who traitorously raised their hands against their own people.

Even today, there are young Ukrainians in some foreign lands who have been deprived of their national identity. They are schooled to become werewolf janissaries; they are taught hatred of their old country and trained to inflict damage and death to oblige their masters.

Among the teachers of baseness are the same sorts of hireling janissaries. Only they have an even longer service record; and rather than vic-

tims of the circumstances, they are conscientious traitors of great notoriety, cold-blooded killers, who do not care who their master is, provided they can get hold of money and power.

One of them, Yevhen Pobihushchy, is a veritable Mr. Fetch-It. In service of various masters he invariably had to take to flight, thus turning tail whenever necessary. Honor and honesty are concepts utterly foreign to Pobihushchy, their place taken by abject servility, treason, cunning, and a flair for provocations. No wonder he is always running away from something.

Such was the fate of the part of the Ukrainian land under bourgeois Poland. True patriots were rising up for freedom, human rights, and reunification with the Soviet Ukraine. But that moral cripple, Pobihushchy, after a spell of saber-rattling in the counterrevolutionary Ukrainian Galician Army, sought a career — of all employers! — with the Polish oppressors. And that after he had had a first-hand taste of the discriminatory and racist policies of bourgeois Poland.

Seeking to provide a rationale for his betrayal, Pobihushchy invoked very lofty motives: specifically, a desire to obtain military knowledge to be used subsequently for the "good of the Ukraine."

So Pobihushchy became an officer in the Polish Army: like a fawning, tailwagging dog, he wangled his way to an army indoctrination course.

When Nazi Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, Polish Captain Pobihushchy unhesitatingly and unashamedly broke his oath of

allegiance and readily went over to the invaders, offering them his services as a janissary The haste Pobihushchy made in placing his "military trappings" at the Nazi command, and his eager readiness for service and for the robot-like execution of orders came to notice. And his refined anti-Bolshevism and his reverence for all things Nazi did much to endear him to the recruiters.

Pobihushchy was entrusted with the execution of the Abwehr's covert missions. In 1940, he was made commander of the DUN (*Roland* Battalion) that was receiving intensive Nazi training in the destruction of all that was or might become anti-Nazi on the potential enemy's territory.

Toward the end of 1941 Pobihushchy was given the command of *Schutzmannschaftbattalion-201*, and in 1943 he was transferred to the janissary SS Halychyna Division. Having already rendered services to the Reich, and with a formidable experience in menial police work, he was one of the first to receive a commission in the SS troops. Later he rose to the rank of regimental commander in that SS division.

After Hitler's Germany had been routed, Pobihushchy did not abandon his sordid activities against his own people. He sold out to *Bundesnachrichtendienst* and the British intelligence and taught, in 1948 and 1949, the janissary science of treason in an espionage school in West Germany that trained radio operators.

In 1954, *SS Sturmbannführer* Pobihushchy (or Eugene Ren — his figleaf of an alias at the time), always for sale to the highest bidder, hopped on the American wagon. He was one of

the organizers of the so-called "foreign companies," among them the "Ukrainian Guard Company," intended for guard duty at US military installations in the Federal Republic of Germany. Aiming to lure emigrants into "Ukrainian Company No. 4204." he plunged into penmanship to publicise the guards' "easy living" and to promote the prospect of setting up "autonomous" Ukrainian squads and even companies in the American army stationed in Europe.

Pobihushchy sold out as "Captain," "Major," *"SS Sturmbannführer,"* and even "Colonel" to the German Nazis; to the fascist Rumanian Royal Occupation Army; to the *Bundesnachrichtendienst*; and to the British and American intelligence services. But now that his military trappings have faded, he continues to catch fresh janissaries in his nets of cunningly contrived rhetoric.

His activities, passed off as educational work among younger people are, in fact, anti-Soviet brainwashing which poisons the minds of young people of Ukrainian extraction and turns them thus into robots capable of subversion, internecine murder and terror against their ancestors' homeland, the Ukraine.

As a so-called "educator" of Bandera's "Ukrainian Youth Association" (SUM), Pobihushchy has plied the route between its camps in England, Belgium, France, the USA, Canada, and, naturally, West Germany, for Pobihushchy's final haven.

It is very unlikely that his rotten soul has ever stirred to recollections of his mother and country he betrayed; or of thousands of Ukrain-

ian youth whom he, driven entirely by the demands of his callous ego, incited to set out upon the ignoble road of giving service, janissary-style, to whoever pays highest.

The hours of the Association's "educator," *SS Sturmbannführer* Eugene Ren-Pobihushchy, are already numbered. He has earned neither honor nor glory even with youth of Ukrainian extraction abroad — unaware though they are of the Ukraine's real history, past and present. Whatever pains Pobihushchy has taken to teach them to crucify their forefathers' homeland, an absolute majority of the young people have not let themselves be turned into janissaries, on whom would inevitably fall the curse of their ancestors' land as it fell on Kussayan.

When he served duty in the SS Halychyna Division, Pobihushchy was in the same regiment as adjutant Lieutenant Lyubomir Orest Ortinsky, a former DUN officer. Ortinsky was a rabid Banderite and a thoroughly schooled German agent. His allegiance to the Nazis dated back to 1939 when Hitler's troops set him loose from a Polish jail where he was doing time as a criminal offender. In the same year of 1939, he started paying the Nazis back for his release: having graduated from an espionage school, he worked for the Gestapo in Warsaw. When the Detachment of Ukrainian Nationalists was organized, he became adjutant to Richard Jary; just before the war against the USSR he trained Banderites in spy work. The friendship he had developed with Jary proved to be a lasting one; and when Ortinsky came to Vienna, Jary registered him to live in his private apartment on June 18, 1942.

Yevhen Pobihushchy as drawn by an SS man in the *Heidelager* training camp. December 1943

Ortinsky fought at Brody in July 1944, managed to escape and went to Austria, then to Germany, and, finally, to the USA. In love with his pro-Nazi past, Ortinsky became an organizer and acting chairman of the Brotherhood of Veterans of the 1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army. Nor was his German schooling forgotten: in the fifties, along with Ivan Hrynioch, *Nachtigall* chaplain, and Volodimir Stakhiw, a one-time Foreign Minister in Yaroslav Stetsko's "government," he made active effort to set up an OUN espionage and sabotage school. Taking up journalism and "political science," Ortinsky glorified the mythical valor of the SS Halychyna Division (1st Ukrainian Division of the UNA) as long as he lived, doing his utmost to whitewash both the division and his own SS past.

* * *

After the defeat of Hitler's Germany, many Nazis and Nazi collaborators left no stone unturned to fool the public with an image of lamblike innocence or, at least, to present themselves as men who merely executed the orders of Hitler and their immediate superiors. Even SS men sought shelter behind the letter of the May 13, 1941, order to the Wehrmacht that relieved the German soldiers of all responsibility for crimes committed against peaceful civilian populations. A concurrent order from the top gave the German officers an unconditional right to decide the life, death, and fate of the "enemy's civilians."

Both the Wehrmacht and the *Waffen SS* and other punitive agencies of the German invaders stretched that order to make it cover all their atrocities, including the annihilation of whole villages with their all inhabitants. It was this and similar orders that the DUN followed when drenching the Soviet land with the blood of "the enemy's civilians."

But the DUN's atrocities in the Ukraine and Byelorussia are neither forgotten nor forgiven. Nor have the atrocities of the SS Halychyna Division as a whole or of its individual units been forgiven no matter when the crimes occurred — before or after these units' incorporation into the division.

UKRAINIAN SELF-DEFENSE LEGION

Organized by the German occupational authorities in the autumn of 1943, the Legion was made up mainly of Volyn members of Melnyk's OUN faction. In December 1943, shortly after the Legion was set up, its "Ukrainian" name was dropped for the name the Legion was listed under in Berlin: the 31st SD Punitive Detachment. To be sure, when dealing with the local population, the SD detachment continued to refer to itself, for the purposes of provocation, as the "Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion" (ULS). That did absolutely nothing to change its character, since the uses to which the German invaders put the unit — pacification actions and combating partisan movements in the western Ukraine, in Poland, and later on Yugoslavian territory — were fully in keeping with the purpose for which it was created.

One of the legion, *bunchuzhny* Orest Horodisky, wrote in the Chicago-based magazine *Samostiyna Ukraina* (No. 7, 1962) that the Legion "had grown out of OUN's armed underground under the command of Colonel Melnyk in Volyn Region and was made up of groups from Lutsk, Kremenets and Dubno regions... The Legion also had an official German designation that was not too honorable (i.e. the 31st SD Punitive Detachment — V. S.). The Legion's command was a triple one. The official Ukrainian command was last headed by Col. Herasimenko (nicknamed 'Tur'), who I think was a weak figure in that post. Then came a political (Party) instructor who worked hand-in-glove with the Ukrainian military command-

er. Finally, there was a German commander. On the part of the Germans, the Legion was under the command of Major Biegelmeier. But he was not the first ever commander of the Legion. The first commander, *Hauptsturmführer* Assmus, was killed by Polish partisans when the Legion was moving from Volyn in the direction of Cracow. Apart from the German commander, there were quite a few German officers and NCOs who spoke Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian. An interesting person was NCO Ravlin, the German, who spoke Russian and whose task was to gather whatever information he could on the Legion's morale and attitudes to keep the German commander informed of them.

"There were also some smaller units that had attached themselves to the Legion — for instance, the so-called Chelm Self-Defense Detachment under Captain Yuri Lukashchuk. Individuals like Col. Petro Dyachenko, a former commander of the *Black Zaporozhians*, and a number of officers discharged for various reasons from the Halychyna Division likewise attached themselves to the Legion.

"There was also a number of former members of the so-called Police Battalion-207, mainly from the eastern parts of the Ukraine.

"...The Legion had good military instructors and a functioning NCO school. In December 1944, when the Legion was billeted at the railway station of Klaj between Cracow and Bochnia, an officers' training school was organized, too, in a company set apart for that purpose.

"... (Toward the end of 1944 — V. S.) the Legion numbered roughly 600 officers and men

including medical personnel (nurses) and members of the personnel's families."

Comments on the article of Orest Horodisky were provided by a former legionnaire who, for some reasons, chose to remain unnamed. He remembered well the first commander of the ULS (31st SD Punitive Detachment) *Hauptsturmführer* Assmus and maintained that Biegelmeier who had taken over as detachment commander held the rank of a *Sturmbannführer*. He also stated that Ravlin (Rawling) was No. 2 in the Legion after Biegelmeier so far as importance in the Legion went. Among other German officers, he mentioned Captain Wachel and *Oberleutnant* Schmidt who had come to the ULS from Cracow where he had headed the Montelupich political prison.

Formally, the 31st Punitive Detachment/ULS was headed by Volodimir Herasimenko ("Tur"), a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and a former colonel in Petlura's army. His elder brother, Boris Herasimenko, had also served with Petlura as a lieutenant. During WWII he was on the special SS *Jagdverband-Ost* organ, charged with terror, subversion, and destruction and headed by *SS Obersturmbannführer* Otto Skorzeny whose notoriety had no equal, even among SS men.

ULS's chief staff and, since mid-1944, assistant commanding officer was Petro Dyachenko. At the time of his service in Petlura's army, Dyachenko was in command of a *Black Zaporozhians* cavalry regiment. His son Yuri also served in the ULS.

Largely responsible for the organization of the Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion was OUN's

Mychajlo Soltys, nicknamed "Cherkes" (Circassian), who helped to lure several hundred of his companions away from the OUN. The SD, Nazi security service, had good reason to trust Soltys, a policeman from the town of Lutsk. The man displayed particular zeal during the annihilation of the Lutsk Jewish ghetto, when almost 18,000 were killed.

Through its commanders and leaders the Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion (31st SD Punitive Detachment) maintained close ties with the Abwehr and the *I-C (Ein-C)*, an army intelligence office. Representatives of these intelligence agencies were a familiar sight at the ULS where they picked up agents for missions in the Soviet army's rear. Thus, just one visit to the ULS gave Abwehr Captain Puluj almost 30 prospective agents. The Legion's men reinforced the ranks of German sabotage agents, radio operators, etc. Nikifor Fedoruk (Nick), Olexa Divak (Orlik), and others were sent behind the front line.

The "leadership" of Melnyk's OUN faction never failed to keep a watchful eye on the Legion. The ULS frequently received representatives of the "leadership." One of those who used to visit the Legion was Oleg Shtul, who would become head of the OUN "leadership."

Nationalists who were contemporaneous with the ULS have their own way of presenting the history of the formation and the activities of the "Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion." In 1944 their advertisement was put out under the heading: "The True Path. Ukrainian Nationalists Fighting in the Ranks of the German Army." In the 1980s the very same nationalists have been bend-

ВІРНИЙ ШЛЯХ

УКРАЇНСЬКІ НАЦІОНАЛІСТИ БОРЯТЬСЯ В РЯДАХ НІМЕЦЬКОЇ АРМІЇ

Headline of a propaganda publication advertizing the Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion (31st SD Punitive Detachment).

ing every effort to find a way to disown what they said and wrote with so much pomp in 1944. And it should also be kept in mind that the "True Path" was about the service in the Nazi SD security service, not in the German Army proper. For the ULS was what its official designation said it was: the 31st SD Punitive Detachment.

The "True Path" (here slightly abridged) read:

"As time goes on, more and more Ukrainians realize that they have but one opportunity to render aid to their homeland — that is, by joining the ranks of the German Army Forces...

"Below is the history of one such Ukrainian formation.

"... In early October, a German officer who is now the Legion's patron and favorite * took a curious prisoner — a messenger from a Ukrainian partisan group. Stationed in the woods, the group fought against the Red aggressor. It

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* That "favorite of the Legion" was *SD Hauptsturmführer* Assmus, the first ULS commander

consisted of a highly conscious Ukrainian nationalist element who realized that the Ukrainians ought to accompany the Germans to Moscow. On learning that, the officer let the prisoner go on his word, proposing leadership cooperation and support to the group.

"The ensuing negotiations were a success. The Ukrainian battle group received considerable weapons support and displayed heroism. In an unequal battle that engaged 300 volunteers against 1,500 Red bandits, 600 bandits were killed and much materiel was captured, which was proof of the self-sacrifice and heroic idealism of the Ukrainians, sealed with the blood of 23 fallen brethren. On December 19, the detachment moved from the woods to Lutsk, and in January its men were issued uniforms. An obscure detachment grew up into a disciplined, iron military legion not fearing death in the struggle for the ideas.

"The Legion possesses a glorious record. Sixty of its men fought a three-day battle starting January 11 in defense of an important timber mill against a bandit onslaught and suffered no casualties. During fighting at Klevan, the 1st Company victoriously engaged a superior force, leaving on the field of glory 39 fallen brethren.

"... Still earlier, when the fighting was going on at Torchyn in Volyn Region, a squad of the unit engaged 300 attacking Poles and inflicted severe casualties on the enemy..."

ULS, SD PUNITIVE DETACHMENT

The first punitive activity was not far-off for the Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion. It occurred in December 1943 when the SD flung the Legion against Soviet partisans under prominent partisan leader Dmitro Medvedev. Though the legionnaires knew the terrain and had bomber support, it was of no avail, so they quit the field in defeated.

But the next operation was more to their liking. In late December 1943, shortly before the New Year holiday, they didn't sleep a wink all night, for they were busy shooting a large group of Ukrainians and Jews, only half-alive after brutal torture and interrogations. That slaughter took place in the village of Pidhaitsi in Lutsk District, Volyn Region, where the ULS was stationed.

The remaining Jews from the Lutsk ghetto, who had been building a kitchen in Pidhaitsi and plank-beds for the ULS-barracks and making clothing and footwear, were also shot.

Those condemned to death were forced to strip naked and were killed with a bullet in the back of the head. Even today, the witnesses of that dreadful night shudder at the memory of the ghastly bloodshed staged by the slaughterers from the "Ukrainian" SD death detachment.

But most of those condemned to die had been motored from the Lutsk prison. Nearly 300 were shot that night. In the morning, three freshly filled-up trenches in the local schoolyard were all that remained from the bloodbath carried out by the Nazis and the Nazi executioners from

the SD legion. Only human memory has preserved the details of that crime, the most dreadful one that the Nazis and their assistant slaughterers from the SD legion committed — a horrible crime against humanity.

Several days later, the Germans sent the legionnaires in the village of Pidhaitsi a group of Poles who had also been kept in the Lutsk prison. The same fate awaited them. Among those brought for destruction was a Polish general who was paid honors of a kind: after he had been shot, he was buried apart from his fellow countrymen. The rest of the victims of the ULS slaughterers repose in common graves.

After the invaders had been expelled from Volyn Region, the State Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Committed by Nazis and Their Accomplices unearthed the burials at the village of Pidhaitsi. When dug up, the trenches revealed the victims of the SD legion, including dozens of bodies bearing marks of torture: broken teeth, cut-off ears, plucked-out eyes, broken arms, etc.

For obvious reasons (to deny their own participation in the shootings) witnesses are, however, quite willing to name others who took a direct part in the executions. Out of their recollections emerges the following picture of the biggest shooting in the village of Pidhaitsi, Lutsk District, on New Year's Eve 1943:

In the evening, platoon leader Vasil Sobko ("Grab") announced to his men that a shooting of Jews was to be held in the schoolyard at night. He called for volunteers.

Two volunteered: squad leader Ivan Kolesnik and Sobko's fellow villager Ivan Kurkash.

Shortly before midnight, Kolesnik and Kurkash were summoned to the ULS headquarters. On their return several hours later, both were intoxicated and showing every mark of extreme agitation. There also was a revelry in other places where the legionnaires were billeted. Before that, all had heard frequent single shots from rifles and pistols and bursts of automatic fire, preceded by the sound of loaded trucks that had rumbled into the schoolyard and left it upon unloading.

Kolesnik told the legionnaires that the Germans had motored in about 300 Jews. They were forced to strip naked, driven to the edge of the trenches dug beforehand, and shot there. Kolesnik, for one, killed them by pistol shots to the back of the head.

Vasil Sobko and Ivan Kolesnik also took part in the shooting in the village of Pidhaitsi of a group of Poles brought from the Lutsk prison. Sobko ("Grab") died in February 1944 during a punitive operation in the vicinity of Korchunok and Edward-Pole. Kolesnik was killed in Poland after the war was already over.

The Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion fully bore out its official designation as an SD punitive detachment. Exercising the rights granted to them, the legionnaires plundered and killed innocent civilians. Thus, at the village of Buyany, Torchyn District, Volyn Region, they shot a group of Poles from the settlement of Lyudvishin just because the Poles looked suspicious to them. But they were probably after the Poles' possessions and horses. And might this not be the action the ULS propagandists referred to, writing in the publication quoted above, about

the engagement near Torchyn in Volyn Region against 300 attacking Poles?

The plunder and violence wrought by the legionnaires aroused the resentment and wrath of the local population. Thus, in February 1944, after the ULS had been moved to the town of Ustilug, the legionnaires of the company under Mikhailo Karkots ("Wolf") went on "provision supply missions," i. e., taking flour, grain, meat and livestock at gun point. That met with resolute resistance from the residents of the village of Korchunok, 3 km from the town of Ustilug. For many of them, the expropriation of foodstuffs meant death from starvation.

To pacify the village, the ULS commander *Hauptsturmführer* Assmus commanded his men to burn it and annihilate its Polish and Ukrainian residents. The village of Korchunok, with approximately 200 households, was burned to the ground, and many villagers were killed. It was a wholesale slaughter, with the legionnaires killing without regard for sex or age.

The same fate overtook the village of Edward-Pole in the vicinity of Ustilug. Participating in that action were companies under Mikhailo Karkots and Vasil Stanislawiw ("Makukh").

Nor were the companies under Mikola Nedzvetsky or Medvetski ("Khrin") idle. That ULS company leader is worth a few words.

Nedzvetsky was a distinguished member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. In the early 1930s, he went to jail in Poland for nationalist activities which exceeded the bounds of what was allowed by the administration and was not freed until two and a half years later.

This photo, taken in the late autumn of 1943, shows a group of men from "Vovk's" company of the 31st SD Punitive Detachment (Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion). Among them are: No. 1 — Olexa Boruchik ("Yastrub") who took part in the suppression of the Warsaw Uprising and settled in the town of Bradford, Britain, after the war; No. 2 — Captain Mikhailo Karkots ("Vovk"); No. 3 — Fedir Sushchik ("Komar") who committed atrocities against civil population; left for the USA where he has been hanging around various nationalist organizations.

In 1940, he was one of the 24 Melnyk-sympathizers in the OUN who signed the letter "To Stepan Bandera and His Associates," strongly condemning the split in the OUN of which Bandera was the author. During WWII, he was a member of the Volyn OUN regional "leadership," a task which he successfully combined with service in the Gendarmerie at the town of Kremenets.

When, in the summer of 1943, a pro-Melnyk armed detachment under "Khrin" was disarmed by Banderites, the idea of forming a self-defense legion emerged, this time under the lofty direction of the SD. That utterly deceitful title was just a big hoax intended to suggest, ostensibly, defense against the Banderites and first and foremost, against "Bolsheviks," whom the OUN considered to be anyone who rose up against the terror of the Nazi invaders and their "homegrown companions" from the OUN.

Nedzvetsky ("Khrin") did not live to find himself in the docks for his crimes. He was finished off in Austria in 1945.

Meanwhile, in the winter of 1944, "Khrin's" company gave free rein to its wanton and brazen violence on the territory of the western Ukraine. An operation against Polish partisans in the vicinity of the town of Kivertsi, Volyn Region, ran a course familiar to the punitive unit's personnel: the company burned villages and killed Poles. An antipartisan action left the village of Bilyn near the town of Ustilug in scorched shambles. The story was the same in other localities, too.

Cynical, and with a good measure of narcissism and bravado, the confessions of a former

slaughterer from "Vovk's" company are blood-curdling. The man goes into great detail, describing memorable episodes as if they had taken place only yesterday.

"Vovk's" company was then stationed in the village of Dyakoniv. One day in late March 1944 "Vovk's" men were sent against the settlement of Kolonia Ameryka. The legionnaires flanked Kolonia on the one side, the Germans, on the other. Even as the legionnaires were approaching the village, they encountered gun and machine-gun fire from a Polish self-defense unit. When the defenders of Kolonia subjected to superior automatic, machine-gun, and mortar fire started to withdraw, they came under German fire.

The legionnaires killed on sight and burned all the houses of the very large village of Kolonia Ameryka to the ground. Every single one of its residents was killed. As was the practice, the action ended with a grandiose feast, paid for with the booty taken.

According to an official act drawn up by a competent commission, property damages alone in Kolonia Ameryka done by the punitive unit's men, amounted to 279,250 Polish zlotys in 1939 prices. But no amount of currency can replace the lives taken by the legionnaires of the 31st SD Punitive Detachment.

Concurrently with Kolonia Ameryka, the villages of Laskόw and Smoligόw were pacified and burned to the ground.

One of the participants in that pacification action was squad leader Theodor Dak, a native of the village of Tudorkovichi (formerly Sokal

District) in the Western Ukraine and a one-time OUN regional leader in that area.

Occupying himself with "politics" in the OUN squared well with the man's criminal leanings, evidenced in part by the fact that in the winter of 1940 Dak was brought to trial in Poland on a murder charge. Subsequently, he committed hundreds more murders to enhance his dubious career.

On October 14, 1943, his unit attacked the village of Huniatyn in Hrubieszów District. Dak himself killed Jan Rzeszutek, his wife Oleksandra and their daughter Hanna. On December 23, 1943, the unit under Dak killed the residents of the village of Szychtok Jan Mamelka and the senile Alexandr Welepolski; Dak himself killed Kateryna Klamra, reported Wladyslaw Klamra. This 16-year-old lad was to be shot by Dak's unit, too. He saved himself by falling just as the first shots were fired and feigning death.

After the annihilation of the villages of Ameryka, Lasków and Smoligów, Dak arrived at his native village of Tudorkovichi. He made his homecoming immediately known by murdering a group of local Poles: Frantiszek Hudyma, Frantiszek and Tomasz Nowacki, Piotr and Stanislaw Woch, and others. He especially enjoyed torturing and killing women. So Dak killed Natalia Woch himself. That story appeared in the Polish *Gazeta Zielonogórska* on March 28-29, 1970.

It was no other than ULS commander *SD Hauptsturmführer* Assmus who surveyed the "work" Dak had done in Tudorkovichi. Encouraged by his SD superior's praise, in April 1944

View of the tombstones and a cross erected on the territory of Kolonia Ameryka. Before Poland was freed from the German invaders, there was a communal grave on this site of Polish partisans from the so-called Battalions of Peasants and Townsfolk. They were killed on March 27, 1944 by Nazis from punitive units, with the Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion participating.

Dak and his cutthroats killed 8 Poles and Ukrainians, 3 infants among them, at the village of Stargorod.

According to captured German documents, in March 1944 the 31st SD Punitive Detachment (Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion) mounted an-

ti-partisan operations along with the elements of the SS Halychyna Division.

The section "The Division Begins to Write its History in Blood" contains some records from the "Chronicle of the SS Halychyna Division." According to them, in March 1944 the *Beyersdorf* battle group, operating in the Chełm — Zamość — Tomaszów area, was replaced by the 5th Regiment of the SS Halychyna Division. This was also the area of operation of the SS *Viking* Division.

Daily situation reports of the police commandant of the District of Lublin at that time mention repeatedly *Sondereinheit des SS-Hauptstuf.* Assmus, *Melnikkampfgruppe* (Assmus), and *Ukrainische Legion* (SS *Hauptsturmführer* Assmus' special formation, Melnyk's battle group (Assmus), Ukrainian Legion) as a participant in fighting against partisans in Hrubieszów District.

That was exactly the area of dislocation of the 5th Regiment of the SS Halychyna Division, since Hrubieszów District is situated between Chełm and Tomaszów-Lubelski.

Below are some excerpts from the reports dealing with Melnyk's "battle group" under the command of Assmus, the Ukrainian Legion.

Report dated March 8, 1944:

"Four *Sonderdienst* (special service — V. S.) enlisted men were disarmed on March 3, 1944 when they were on the way to the special formation under *SS Hauptsturmführer* Assmus stationed in the locality of Moroczyn (0 596). One special service man was wounded severely and later died. It was solely due to the inter-

vention of the Gendarmerie captain that further bloodshed was averted. The special service men got back their arms. After that incident, local Polish workmen disappeared."

Report dated March 16, 1944:

"On March 13, 180 men of the special service under Assmus and 80 local Ukrainian policemen were surprised by the local band near Maslomecz (0 609). (In the Nazi invaders' idiom, all resistance and underground fighters and partisans were referred to as 'bandits,' 'adversaries,' etc.— V. S.). The band returned to the town of Dombrowa-Masłomecka (0 621) and established itself in houses therein. Having been dislodged, it withdrew to a nearby wood at Sahryn. There the bandits joined their main forces. As has been reported, the bandits lost 18 in that large engagement, including a Polish deserter policeman. We suffered no losses! Driven southward, the band stopped at isolated Ukrainian farmsteads, near Modryn (0 622), and in the vicinity of Abbrennen. 6 other bandits were shot. We suffered no losses! The unit continued fighting the enemy."

Report dated March 21, 1944:

"On March 19, 1944, 215 best men of Melnyk's group (Assmus) and 40 local policemen were selected to carry out reconnaissance in the Malków zone. The security police detailed a team to this end. A band... numbering 400 men was discovered and surrounded. We did battle from 5 to 11 hours, but fighting was broken off owing to the enemy's preponderance. Meanwhile, some of the forces were disorganized but soon managed to regroup and force their way through. The enemy left behind 67

corpses. The number of wounded is unknown. Our losses: 1 of Melnyk men and 1 policeman were killed, 1 of Melnyk men was wounded and 6 were missing. 6 carts, 1 kitchen, and 15 horses were lost."

In a report dated April 12, 1944, the police commandant, making a reference to the message of the 1st (Motorized) SS Gendarmerie battalion, mentioned the Ukrainian Legion under *Hauptsturmführer* Assmus in connection with an operation mounted against a big partisan detachment in Hrubieszów District, and reconnaissance carried out by a joint battle group in the region of Krasnyszyn (0 579) and Skierbyszów.

Reports relating to an even bigger action, the annihilation of the populated points of Amerika, Lasków and Smoligów, also mention the 5th Regiment of the 14th Volunteer SS Halychyna Infantry Division. Thus, a report dated March 28, 1944 stated:

"The battle group under Captain Wulbrandt reports on March 28, 1944:

'As had been planned, the attack on the band was mounted 20 km to the south of Hrubieszów on March 27, 1944. The band was discovered near Lasków (0 635), 21 km to the south of Hrubieszów, and eliminated.

'Successes: 75 bandits killed, 2 bandits taken prisoner; 1 machine-gun retrieved, 30 rifles, 1,000 cartridges, 1 crate with 20 machine-gun magazines, 1 MG-Trommel, many broadswords and other materiel, 4 special and 3 dress uniforms (many rifles, much ammunition and many hand grenades were destroyed).

'Losses:	killed	wounded
R.A. III	1	3
Artillery men	—	1
Assmus' battle group	—	3
Wehrmacht	1	5
5th Volunteer SS Regiment	—	1

'When reporting on the retrieved rifles as well as machine-guns, reference is made, in part, to the weapons lost in battle at Malków (0 622) on February 14, 1944...

'The elimination of the band that has stayed on at Malków was continued by two companies of the 5th Volunteer Regiment of the SS Halychyna Division.' "

The German command would not forget the joint anti-partisan and pacification actions of the 31st SD Punitive Detachment (Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion) and the SS Halychyna Division. They would initiate the incorporation of the ULS into the SS Halychyna Division.

This incorporation, however, did not come about until a year later. In the meantime, though in the same business and committing similar brutalities, the ULS and the SS division were under different commanders. But in the long run, their common superior was no other than SS Reichsführer Himmler.

To destroy all life: such was the slogan of the legionnaires. When the ULS commander Assmus was killed during a punitive anti-partisan operation at the village of Chłaniów in Krasnystaw District, Lublin Region, the village was burned down on July 23, 1944 and the villagers, including women, old persons, and children, who had not managed to hide in the woods

were shot or burned alive. Many villagers from Chłaniów and the neighboring village of Władysławyn, also within the area to be pacified, were subjected to brutal abuse and torture. Their arms and legs were broken, and they were slashed with knives.

Below is an excerption from *Executions and Burials, 1939 to 1945, Lublin Województwo*, Volume 2, pp. 304 to 308:

"Chłaniów Village
Żulkiewka Sub-district
Krasnystaw District
Lublin Województwo (Region)

"On July 23, 1944 the residents of the village of Chłaniów and kolonia of Chłaniów in the sub-district of Żulkiewka, and of the neighboring settlement of Władysławyn in the sub-district of Rudnik were shot down on the spot. Jan Blaszczak, a one-time Chłaniów headman, saw three corpses with their legs and arms broken and their throats cut. All were Poles who had lived in the village of Chłaniów in the sub-district of Żulkiewka and the settlement of Władysławyn in the sub-district of Rudnik.

"... That murder was committed as a reprisal against the local residents for a partisan attack on a German military vehicle made during the German retreat, resulting in the death of one German. The killings were perpetrated by Ukrainians dressed in German and Ukrainian uniforms who were withdrawing before a Soviet advance. The names of the perpetrators are not known; after the killings were over, the bodies were left behind on the scene. It was not until after the German withdrawal that the bodies were buried in a communal grave at the local

parish cemetery in the village of Chłaniów. Approximately 30 persons were buried there, and the rest were buried by their relatives."

According to the statement, "the names of the perpetrators are not known." But today we know the name of the murderer: the Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion, alias the 31st SD Punitive Detachment. The cruellest butchery during the annihilation of the residents of Chłaniów and Władysławyn was by the legionnaires of the company under Stanislawiw ("Makukh").

Today it is diffucult to say whether the legionnaires knew during the brutal destruction of the residents of the villages of Chłaniów and Władysławyn that the Soviet troops were crushing the remnants of the routed SS Halychyna Division. The German command, however, could not be blind to the fact that the division had blood kin in the ULS (31st SD Punitive Detachment), and that the ULS was a fit reserve to reinforce the battered SS division.

When the remnants of the SS Halychyna Division were limping together for a major reformation, the Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion had to operate at double its workload. As early as the beginning of August 1944, the ULS was sent to intensify the struggle against the Polish partisans from what was known as the partisan-created *Republika Pinczowska.* In the course of that operation the legionnaires killed 105 in the villages of Skalbmież and Szarby, of whom 30 were partisans. The rest were women, a man of 71, and children, including a 2-month-old baby. Only the stout partisan resistance and a vigorous Soviet armor thrust saved the rest of the residents of these villages.

PARTICIPATION IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE WARSAW UPRISING

On August 1, 1944, under the influence of London-based Polish emigré government, Warsaw rose against the Nazi invaders. One of the objects the instigators of the uprising pursued was to try to get the Polish capital, Warsaw, in their hands, thereby setting the stage for the establishment, by right of victor, of a political order suitable to Stanislaw Mikolajczyk's emigré government and to Great Britain.

Those people across the sea, who had launched the uprising on such a self-seeking political foundation had timed it to begin long before the Soviet Army could possibly reach Warsaw. This was one of the chief reasons the uprising failed since, exactly as it had been planned in Britain, the Soviet troops failed to come in time to the aid of the insurgents.

The uprising against the hated Nazi invaders who had been trampling Polish soil for 5 long years caught up the broad masses of indomitable patriots. It became a matter of life and honor for all anti-Nazi forces in Warsaw and in other towns and villages to try their hardest to aid the fighting capital.

On learning about the uprising, on August 1, SS Reichsführer Himmler issued the order "to shoot down all Poles in Warsaw regardless of age and sex; to take no prisoners; to raze Warsaw itself to the ground to show Europe what it means to engineer uprisings against the Germans."

The execution of that order was entrusted to the corps under the command of *SS Obergrup-*

penführer Erich von dem Bach-Zelewski, with some other *Waffen SS* and police elements attached to it. Regular Wehrmacht units were also committed against the insurgents. Warsaw found itself completely encircled. Despite their heroism, the insurgents were able to hold out for only 63 days. On October 2, 1944, the uprising was put down.

In his *U źródeł walk z podziemiem reakcyjnym w Polsce* (The Sources of Struggle with the Reactionary Underground in Poland), published in Warsaw in 1975, the Polish historian Walichnowski estimates that the uprising cost the lives of 150,000 civilians, over 18,000 insurgents, and approximately 4,000 enlisted men and officers of the Polish Army.

In his personal message to Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the USA, dated August 22, 1944, J. V. Stalin stated his views on the Warsaw events that objectively reflected the grim reality and the plight of the insurgent Warsaw residents. The message said that "sooner or later the truth about the handful of power-seeking criminals who launched the Warsaw adventure will come out. Those elements, playing on the credulity of the inhabitants of Warsaw, exposed practically unarmed people to German guns, armor and aircraft. The result is a situation in which every day is used, not by the Poles for freeing Warsaw, but by the Hitlerites, who are cruelly exterminating the civilian population."

Among the butchers of the Warsaw uprising were also some units of the 31st SD Punitive Detachment (Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion)

under the general command of Colonel Petro Dyachenko, the Legion's assistant commanding officer. They left for Warsaw in early September. The units that "won distinction" in that punitive operation were the company under Mikhailo Karkots ("Vovk") and the machine-gun platoon under Anany Kushnir, otherwise known as "Tractor."

In his *Along the Roads of World War II*, Veryha quotes the German researcher Hanns von Krannhals as writing that "real Ukrainians also participated in the Warsaw uprising: two companies under Colonel Dyachenko fought in the Czerniaków area but mostly in the Powiśle area."

The Dyachenko mentioned here was assistant commanding officer of the 31st Punitive Detachment. Obviously, the author refers to its men as "real Ukrainians" only because of their unit's "Ukrainian" — and only unofficially Ukrainian — name. And it stands to reason that the statement that these "real Ukrainians" participated in the Warsaw uprising should be construed as implying their participation in the supperssion of the Warsaw uprising on the side of the SS.

V. Veryha is not able to ignore facts recorded in numerous official documents that "auxiliary units" made up of Ukrainian nationalists and attached to the SS and units which later were incorporated into the SS Halychyna Division participated in the suppression of the Warsaw uprising. Nor does he challenge the authority of researchers and witnesses or the competence of the judicial commissions that gave form to their evidence. Still, he seeks to counter the

facts with an assertion of his own making that "there were no Ukrainian military units in Warsaw."

Such unsubstantiated assertions have become the fashion with Ukrainian nationalists, and Veryha does not dare to contradict them.

At the beginning of the story about the ULS there was a quotation from an article by the former *bunchuzhny* Orest Horodisky from that unit whose "German name is not too honorable." Among other things, the author notes in the article "that certain Ukrainian political circles have sought to present some military units not in a real, historic light. Thus, but for a discussion on the subject of Dr. Oberlender, the Ukrainian community would not know that the actual commander of the so-called *Nachtigall* unit was Oberlender and not Roman Shukhevich. We are forced," Horodisky admits, "to write historical notes on the auxiliary Ukrainian police and the participation of Ukrainians in the Warsaw uprising and in various other German armed formations."

Meanwhile, some nationalists do not dare to own up to their participation in the SS, SD and "various other formations"; to own up to how and in what numbers they participated in the suppression of the Warsaw uprising — and most of them are not likely to ever volunteer any confessions. And at the same time, their advocate V. Veryha continues to spout falsehoods.

He reports in his *Along the Roads of World War II* that — "a Ukrainian company, numbering approximately 150 men and officers attached to a security police battalion was stationed on Szucha Lane";

— "the building of the institute of political science on Wawelska St. provided quarters for an SS detachment 300 strong that included a company of Ukrainians";
— "according to an announcement by Paul Otto Geibel, Police Commandant of the Warsaw District, on the crossroads of Koszykowa St. and Rose Lane, a security service (SD — V.S.) unit was stationed, approximately 700 strong, with a company of Ukrainians *(Hilfswillige)* attached to it."

In the face of that data, Veryha nevertheless makes the following conclusion: "An analysis of the foregoing warrants the statement that there were no Ukrainian military formations in Warsaw. As for the so-called 'Hiwis' *(Hilfswillige)*, or auxiliary units, they were not combat units and were used for various kinds of guard duty. (They were recruited from Soviet prisoners-of-war who 'volunteered' to save themselves from death by starvation in the German camps.)"

Once again Veryha does some word-juggling in an attempt to rant away the actual state of things. Here is the result: according to him, there were "no Ukrainian military formations" in Warsaw. Well, to tell the truth, ULS companies were punitive units and not military formations. He also maintains that "auxiliary units... were not combat ones." A good one here, too: as part of the SD, these units were anything but combat ones! Therefore, "the statement is warranted" that Warsaw saw neither the ULS company leader "Volk" nor the platoon leader "Tractor"; that the ULS assistant commander Col. Petro Dyachenko never led

them in attacks on the insurgents or supervised the pacification of Warsaw residents in his assigned area.

After the uprising had been suppressed, the pacification, i. e., massacre, of Warsaw residents, plunder, and destruction were continued and did not end until after Warsaw was liberated by the Soviet troops. Data furnished by T. Walichnowski show that over that period, units of Nazi barbarians destroyed 91 % of the churches and historical landmarks cherished by the Poles.

An equal lack of enthusiasm for speaking up about their service in the 31st SD Punitive Detachment was displayed by men of that punitive detachment like A. Kushnir ("Tractor"), company leader W. Stanislawiw ("Makukh"), Mikhailo Karkots ("Vovk") and his brother Petro, who was also in Warsaw with the SD. About the only thing they might have dared do was to brag about their murderous exploits when meeting *tête-à-tête*. Until recently, they all resided in Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA.

INCORPORATION IN AN SS DIVISION

When it was stationed in Yugoslavia, the Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion entered the final phase of its existence as an "independent" unit.

In Yugoslavia, the unit carried out punitive operations against Yugoslavian partisans, this time in tandem with the former Halychyna Division, now the 1st SS Ukrainian Division. Thus occupied, the legionnaires resorted to their stock methods of destroying whomever they ar-

bitrarily decided to call partisans. They shot down and burned people alive in their houses.

The ULS ran and ran from the Soviet armies, eventually finding itself in Austria. Orest Horodisky writes that, once in Austria, the Germans felt themselves "at home." Therefore, as the Germans "no longer had any use for the ULS, since there were no partisans to fight, maintaining it as an independent unit became pointless." From the very first days in Austria, rumors spread that the 31st SD Punitive Detachment (Ukrainian Self-Defense Legion) would be incorporated into the 1st Ukrainian SS (formerly, Halychyna) Division. The rumors proved to be well-founded.

Orest Horodisky wrote in the magazine *Samostiina Ukraina*, No. 7, 1962:

"In early March 1945 the division's military band came to the village of Unterschwarze where the ULS German staff was stationed for the incorporation of the Legion, following a parade, into the ranks of the Halychyna Division. Several times, Major Biegelmeier met with division commander Freitag for consultations."

But the projected festive incorporation of that punitive unit into the SS division fell through. Before the year 1944 was out, the legionnaires were speculating about what lay in store for them. Some of them were coming to the sad conclusion that their German masters had become unreliable. "We saw German weakness," writes Horodisky, "but were no longer much concerned: we thought of ourselves."

So when the decision was made to incorporate the ULS and Freitag's SS division into one unit, some of the legionnaires rebelled, refusing

to obey the order. With NCOs Roman Kivelyuk and "Koval" at the head, nearly 250 legionnaires left the camp at night, aiming to establish contacts with Yugoslavian *Cetnik* * units under General Mihajlovic and to return to the Ukraine with their assistance.

They brought off the first part of the plan, making contact with the Cetniks on the very next day. What happened thereafter is described by Orest Horodisky who was among the "rebels":

"As soon as the Cetniks learned with whom they were dealing, they sent two of their men with a report to their superiors in the Gestapo office at Marburg. Just as they were reporting and debating what was to be done with us, Lyubomir Makarushka, a captain in the Halychyna Division, arrived. He had been officially summoned. I learned this later from Dr. Makarushka himself..., who was immediately faced with a very important problem.

"Riot and disobedience is punished by death in the army, especially when war is on — and in the German Army, too. The Germans looked down on any foreigner as a lower being. So the threat of decimation, as a minimum, was quite real. The Gestapo was now in the picture, which made the situation even more complicated.

"The division decided to take us by force. On orders from the Gestapo, our Cetnik 'allies' were to lead us to a previously chosen place where we would be encircled next day and forcibly incorporated into the division.

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* *Cetnik* — the name applied to themselves by members of pro-Nazi guerilla groups in Yugoslavia during WWII

"... The night was pitch-black. Only the Cetniks had lamps.

"Toward the morning we got to a village and put out a double guard, determined to get some rest. The owners of the houses were not allowed to leave their homes without our supervision.

"Exhausted and dirty, I lay down to get some sleep when a messenger from Romko (Roman Kivelyuk — V. S.) raised the alarm. The reason was that the traffic on the road had increased suspiciously. Army trucks were stopping, and the men were forming march units.

" 'Alarm!'

"Everybody was on his feet again. We checked our arms. With a small group of men, I took a shortcut, skirting the wood in the direction of a hill. In the wood, division men with a machine-gun were already in position. Some of the men greeted me, not realizing that we were precisely the 'partisans' they were hunting down.

"All our unit got to the hill that commanded the surroundings by different paths. Clearly, the division team executing the round-up had got its bearings and saw that we did belong to the division. When we are almost at the top, they fired machine-gun rounds over our heads.

"Each group had its share of adventures getting to the hill. We had a man with a slight leg wound. From the top of the hill, we could see the encircling movement being carried out by the division men.

"We, 'partisans,' were in mixed spirits. Aware of that, Romko rallied the men on the top and, realizing his responsibility, asked the question:

" 'Will we go on as partisans or start talks?'

"No reply came, and that meant hesitation.

" 'You will go with *khorunzhy* "Koval" (nickname) to talk it over with the Germans,' Romko commanded.

"Since I was one of the few men in the legion with an adequate command of the German language, the choice fell to me.

" 'Yes, sir,' I said, going by the military book.

"I emptied all my pockets, left my gun behind, and, fearfully waving a white handkerchief, accompanied *khorunzhy* 'Koval' down the slope of the hill to the valley. Halfway down, a German non-com and one of ours (a Ukrainian — Tr.) jumped out from behind a cover. Seeing a German ribbon on my breast and the silver stripe of rank on my sleeve, he swore hard and, in triumph, with fixed bayonet, took me to Major Kaschner, commander of an anti-tank guns unit.

"... After we had left for the talks, a Slovenian lad was taken to Romko, carrying a message from Captain Dr. Makarushka, in which he promised, on behalf of the division's command, full amnesty and assistance in moving us to our home land for partisan operations. I do not know if the boy carried an answer back to company leader Dr. Makarushka, since presently Dr. Makarushka turned up in the camp in person. Owing to his diplomatic mediation (he was a former UNDO ambassador *) and concern

* UNDO: the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance was a nationalist organization that held a subservient position in its relationships with the government of bourgeois and landlord-ruled Poland. From 1935, it sent several deputies (called "ambassadors") to the Polish Parliament

for us, Roman decided to go down into the valley and incorporate the whole of the unit into the ranks of the division.

"... We were by no means depressed or nervous. Roman gave the command to fall in to his right, then a 'Forward, march,' with a song. Thus, we crisply strode singing to the place where Major Haike, the divisional executive officer, Captain Dr. L. Makarushka, *khorunzhy* D. Masliy and some others were standing.

"Major Haike was quite pleased with our deportment. He announced in a few words that there would be no punishment and that we could keep all our arms as well as all our possessions. Captain Makarushka did the interpreting.

"... By the time we started moving in the direction of Marburg to the village of Frauheim in Slovenia, where we were to be officially incorporated into the division, it was almost evening.

"... All the NCOs and officers were shunted to the reserve battalion under Major Kleinow who had been transferred to the division from the 204th Police Battalion.

"... We were not punished in any way. Our men were mainly used to form the so-called search platoons.

"... Shorty, before our platoon moved against Tito's partisans, *khorunzhy* Roman Kivelyuk visited with us on the way to division headquarters. His good acquaintances warned him against going there and suggested that he flee.

"He would not listen. He was treacherously killed by the division Gestapo man who said that he had attempted to flee.

"... Thus ended our 2-day career as partisans, leaving behind only a feeling of resentment toward the Cetniks, so servile to the German Gestapo."

Yet the Germans did not let this instance of disobedience go totally unpunished. Apart from the murder of Roman Kivelyuk, another six ULS commanding officers were arrested and were under investigation in the town of Persdorf, Austria, till May 1945. And it goes without saying that the promise the division's command had given through Makarushka to send the ULS "rebels" to the Ukraine turned out to be mere words and an outright ploy. They were incorporated into the division. Since they had appropriate experience, they were soon used in anti-partisan actions on Yugoslavian territory.

Still another veil over the criminal past of the SS division's men is lifted by Mikola V. in a letter addressed to Osip Levitsky, former principal of Stanislav High School. The letter appeared in the magazine *Samostijna Ukraina*, No. 4, in April 1963 — a time of much fanfare occasioned by the 20th anniversary of the SS Halychyna Division. Mikola V. writes:

"In our division there also were several boys from Chełm District — or, probably, several dozen of them — none of whom, however, had volunteered to join up back at home. Like myself, they had come to the division from the ULS or from forced labor camps in Germany... There was another reason why the Germans did not recruit volunteers for the division in Chełm

District *: at the time, Chełm District already had a division of its own of at least two-regiment strength. Recruitment into the division had been carried out even before the eruption of the Soviet-German war. It was done through ordinary conscription rather than voluntary enlistment. When calling up the man, the Germans made no promises whatsoever. All they did was circulate the rumor that the affair was quite secret in view of good-neighborly relations with the USSR and that, allegedly, they were not able to furnish any details concerning the projected formation. Therefore, the mobilization might well have been evaded by various devices. But our social and political leadership (i. e., the OUN leadership — V. S.), we all in Chełm District took the line of wishful thinking and accepting the planted rumor at face value. The Germans dressed the rookies in black uniforms and gave them training at Trawniki ** near Lublin. At first, they were used to guard camps for Jews, then to suppress the Resistance in France. Finally, they were moved to Yugoslavia to fight Tito's men. That was the last they were heard of. By my very rough estimates, there were at least 5,000 of these poor souls."

The following conclusion proceeds naturally from the characterization of the formations de-

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* Recruitment into the SS Halychyna Division in Chełm District did take place, though the Germans decided to conduct it "in Chełm and Hrubieszów districts without special propaganda effort, as is noted in a report by Hasse to Losacker, Minister of the Interior of the *Generalgouvernement*

** As regards the German concentration camps at Trawniki, see pages 76—77

scribed above. *Schutzmannschaftbattalion-201*, incorporating the pogromist *Nachtigall* and *Roland* battalions; police battalion No.204; "evacuated police units" from various parts of the Ukraine; the punitive division from Chełm District; former heads of jails, concentration and death camps; and, lastly, the 31st SD Punitive Detachment — such were the sources from which reinforcements for the SS Halychyna Division, renamed the 1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army in late April 1945.

It is rather significant that the supreme command of that army and the command of the 1st Ukrainian Division both went to the general whose police service record was the longest in the division. General Shandruk's record of service in the police went back to the year 1908. Apart from that, he had established formidable credentials as a pogromist to end all pogromists even before the period of Petlura's "death battalions." His assumption of the command of the SS "death division" in 1945 was the pinnacle of his career.

Ukrainian nationalists are determined to show that the 1st Ukrainian Division of the UNA was a "guiltless," "purely military" formation. But the truth is that the division remained an SS "death division" up to the very moment of its inglorious end. It is guilty of crimes against humanity committed both by units incorporated into it during the commission of the crimes and those that became part of it thereafter.

XXVII. CAPTIVITY

When Haj-Holovko was making the last entries in his diary, the SS command had already decided the division's fate. On May 2 and 3, 1945 a meeting was held on Austrian territory with the following list of participants: Otto Wächter, the former Governor of the *Distrikt Galizien*; F. Arlt, the official in charge of "Ukrainian Affairs" at *SS Hauptamt*; Colonel Alfred Bisanz, chief of the division Military Council; *SS Hauptsturmführer* Lyubomir Makarushka, head of the officer personnel section of the division Military Council and a former adviser to the division commander Freitag. At the meeting it was decided to surrender the division to the British troops.

Still earlier, immediately upon assumption of the command of the division, Shandruk had issued instructions to start negotiations with the Allied High Command in the city of Fillach to arrange the surrender to the Western Allies. The results of the first contacts were what formed the subject of the meeting on May 2 and 3, 1945.

Colonel Kostyantin Smovsky was assigned to make direct contact with the Allied troops on behalf of the division command. He failed to carry out his assignment of contacting the British exactly. But on May 8, assisted by the "Ukrainian Committee" from the town of Salzburg taken by the American troops on May 4, Smovsky made contact with the command of a locally stationed American division, submitting a written memorandum-protocol by way of a plea to accept the surrender. Besides Smovsky's

signature, the document carried that of Yuri Pundyk, who represented the Salzburg "Ukrainian Committee" and made the translation.

That memorandum contains grossly mendacious information with respect to the nature of the 1st Ukrainian Division of the UNA. It is quite obvious that its status as a *Waffen SS* unit was fully concealed.

Yet the information concerning the personnel and dislocation of the division and certain other data and statements aroused some interest. The document stated:

"... The UNA consists largely of the 1st Ukrainian Infantry Division which, numbering 15,000 as of April 27, 1945, was located on the Graz-Brück section along the river Mur (Austria). In addition to that, the UNA also incorporates a separate anti-tank brigade and reserve elements. The sanitary state as well as the morale of the division is very high.

"The UNA was formed partly of Ukrainians called up in Galicia and partly of volunteers enlisted from German forced labor or POW camps."

Then comes an attempt to persuade the Americans that the UNA "was not formed to contribute to the German war effort," and that "since the time of its formation, the UNA command has had ready a plan for the UNA's going over to the side of the Western Allies as soon as an appropriate opportunity presented itself. Therefore, as soon as the British troops on the Italian front pushed closer to the area where the UNA was stationed — Völkermarkt, Klagenfurt, Fillach — I was assigned with carrying out the above mission. Unable to contact the

British armies, and having learned of the capture of Salzburg by the Americans, I came here on the instructions of the UNA Command."

Just what the British would have done in response to the plea of Smovsky is not clear. The American division command, though, first intended to fulfill its obligations to an ally by delivering the division over to the Soviet Army. To prevent that, OUN men and the Uniate clergy turned for help to Pope Pius XII, through the good offices of those of the clergy who knew the ins and outs of the Vatican. After the Pope's intercession with the British ruling circles, the British troops were ordered to accept the surrender of the 1st Ukrainian Division of the UNA.

Pius XII's solicitude for the division did not end there. Dwelling on that subject, A. Lysy wrote in the Detroit-based nationalist newspaper *Ukrainsky visti* on February 14, 1982:

"While the division was waiting for the formal carrying out of the terms of surrender, Shandruk sent (as did, concurrently, General Paunitz) a message to the British Command, in which he set forth the history and purpose of the Ukrainian division and also pleaded with the Allies not to deliver the division into the hands of the Soviets. A delegation was also sent to General Anders in command of the 2nd Polish Corps with a request to extend his patronage to the division and to intercede for the Ukrainians with the British Command. On May 8 another delegation was sent to the British; on the same day the Ukrainian division laid down its arms.

"... 10,000 officers and men of the Ukrainian

division were taken captive by the 5th British Army Corps in the valley of the Drava River near Spittal.

"... The Pope stood up for them in a message to Allied Headquarters on July 5, 1945, demanding that these men not be returned to the Soviet Union."

XXVIII. IN INTERNMENT CAMPS

Having extended their protection to the SS men from the 1st Division of the UNA, the British moved them to Italy for internment in the town of Rimini on the Adriatic coast. By doing so, they demonstrated to the Allies — first of all, to the USSR — that appropriate action had been taken in regard to the SS division by keeping it under guard.

But in reality the SS men were quite at large. They associated with whomever they pleased, using the camp as a reliable place of residence that was also protected from any hostile intervention from the outside. This even proved to be a convenience. When local residents made complaints to the British camp guards about some mischief done by the SS men, the unperturbed British reported: "Well, why did you have anything to do with them in the first place? Don't you know that SS men are dangerous?"

Retaining the discipline and structure of an army unit, the division conducted drills and other kinds of training. At the very first training session of the officer personnel, Mikhailo Krat, a former Petlura General and a commanding officer with the UNA's 1st Ukrainian Divi-

sion, taught the men how to make a new, British-regulation-style, military salute in order to avoid the bravado of the Nazi salutation. The new "hand-close-to-head-salute" immediately became the butt of a joke for the division's wits. It was interpreted as a salute "to the three points of compass so no one will get passed over by accident."

In the Rimini camp, the vigorous nationalist indoctrination of the SS men who came from the Ukraine got off to a flying start. Anti-Soviet and anti-Communist dogma was hammered into their heads. That was evidently no new thing for the SS division. Yet, after the Third Reich and its propagandistic stereotypes had collapsed, the division's command feared that the German surrender might have worked some negative changes in their subordinates' thinking. The nationalistic indoctrination effort enlisted the energies of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. That agency did not cease its activities after its former masters had been crushed. Properly speaking, there were two OUNs at work in the camp: the old one under Andriy Melnyk and the new one under Stephen Bandera, brought into being by a split in the OUN in 1940.

The division became an important source for reinforcing both OUN factions. Using every opportunity, the OUN selected from among the SS men those it needed and transferred them to their centers in Germany and Austria. Since former SS men still had no official permission to leave, the selected persons were often moved clandestinely or used fictitious documents forged by the OUN men themselves. Those who

remained in the camp sometimes gave some of their documents to the "deserters." So today there are quite a few full namesakes in various countries.

This Italian export of SS nationalists was put to use by the OUN in the major fields of the organization's activity. They were put in the security service where they could draw on their skills as SS men. They were used as messengers and liaison men. They smuggled agents and crossed illegally into Czechoslovak, Polish, Ukrainian territory for espionage and subversive activities. Prior to a run across some border, many of them received training in British and American Intelligence, subversion, and radio-operator schools.

In that way, the Western special services absolved the SS men of responsibility for their wartime crimes and put them on their payroll even before the Western parliaments adopted corresponding immigration laws, etc.

The rest of the division's men did not let grass grow under their feet, either. They were busy posing to the Western members of the anti-Hitler coalition as veritable victims of Nazism and the Nazi invaders. Utterly mendacious letters, appeals, pleas, petitions, and memoranda were sent out to statesmen or simply to persons of influence in every quarter. That correspondence was delivered with the help of the Catholic ecclesiastical circles and the Vatican itself, which had been instrumental in preventing the extradition of the SS division to the Soviet Union, whose territory had been the site of most of the division's crimes.

It took the SS men no time to get their

bearings and realize that the USSR's former war partners, Great Britain, the USA, and France, had departed from their solemn obligations as Allies. Therefore, in their appeals to the Western Powers, the SS men offered themselves, openly and cynically, for the execution of anti-Soviet actions. That offer was promptly capitalized on by the Western intelligence services. The years to come saw the exposure of quite a few espionage activities and subversive ventures by the Western special services carried out by OUN men — especially by former SS Halychyna Division men — later the 1st Ukrainian Division of the UNA.

One of the first to make a visit to the Rimini camp from across the ocean was Vasyl Kushnir, head of the nationalist Ukrainian Canadian Committee. He became a rabid advocate of the former SS men and sought by hook or crook to get them out of the camps and to obtain permission for them to leave for West European nations or America.

From a report of the Ukrainian Refugee Relief Committee in Italy:

"... In late March-early April 1946, our Committee welcomed the first European delegate from across the Atlantic, Father Dr. Vasyl Kushnir, head of the UCC and of the Canadian Ukrainians' Relief Fund in Winnipeg, who first visited the Ukrainian camp of interned persons in Rimini..."

Circular No. 146/47 dated December 31, 1946 of the Ukrainian Central Aid Association of Austria * makes it known that "Dr.

* A nationalist organization set up in the town of Salzburg after the end of WWII

Vasyl Kushnir (second from the left) among former SS men in the Rimini internment camp.

Kushnir was one of the first representatives of the old emigration (apart from the soldiers of the Canadian Army) to visit the wanderers" in Germany and Italy.

In Rimini the guest from across the ocean consoled the interned SS men with prophesies of the early beginning of a Third World War, in which they would play a major role. Meanwhile, he called on them to continue their anti-communist and anti-Soviet activities.

In early May 1946 Vasyl Kushnir returned to Canada after a 4-month tour of Western Europe. By May 29, he was among the representatives of Ukrainian nationalist organizations to attend a sitting of the Permanent Senate Immi-

gration and Labor Committee which discussed the immigration into Canada of displaced Ukrainians.

In the presence of 14 Senators Kushnir said of the displaced Ukrainian persons that the "British and American authorities had no compromising information at their disposal concerning these persons."

Queried by Senator Forner as to whether there were any former servicemen among them, Kushnir replied in the negative. And to an acquitting: "These were workmen," from Senator David, he added, "Forcibly deported..." (Minutes of the sitting, Volume II of the Reports of the Permanent Immigration and Labor Committee.)

That was how Prelate Father Kushnir committed perjury, passing off an SS division's men for "forcibly deported" workmen. And he was fresh from the camps for interned SS men, not labor camps. Those SS men had not yet changed into civilian clothes. Nor were they in any hurry to do so, for they were counting on a new war against the Soviet Union, a new *Drang nach Osten*, and revenge which they were urged to hope for by Kushnir himself.

XXIX. NAZI CRIMINALS MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE

Bent on involving the SS men from the 1st Ukrainian Division of the UNA who were still in interned persons camps, into anti-Soviet activities as quickly as possible, the then head of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Vasyl Ku-

shnir, established direct contacts with various official and semi-official agencies and organizations, connected, however remotely, with "displaced persons" (DPs) and immigration affairs. He also took personal steps to influence the appropriate organs and agencies.

The United Nations was one he did not miss out on. According to the magazine *Khristijanski shlyakh*, No.43, November 24, 1946, on November 7 Kushnir handed over to UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie a memorandum of the "Ukrainian Canadian Committee" setting forth a proposal to place "under UN charge 300,000 Ukrainian emigrants" and allow them to leave Europe for Canada. This category of emigrants was established by Kushnir to include the SS men from the 1st Ukrainian Division of UNA.

Vasyl Kushnir was making haste lest the judiciary bodies get the "Ukrainian Galician" SS men and lest the same fate overtook them as that of their "Godfather," Hans Frank. Ruler of the *Generalgouvernement*, he had been hanged by the verdict of the Nuremberg Military Tribunal three weeks earlier.

For quite some time, Kushnir continued to haunt the thresholds of various international and Canadian agencies and organizations. In March 1950, with the Canadian MP Ivan Dikur and a group of Ukrainian nationalist leaders, Kushnir again appealed to the Canadian government to admit the Nazi collaborators who had fled the Ukraine and former men from the SS Halychyna Division (1st Ukrainian Division of the UNA) into Canada.

This time the Canadian government was already ripe to decide in favor of the appeal. On

the report of Minister of External Affairs Lester Pearson Cabinet decided to admit the servicemen of the SS Halychyna Division (1st UD of the UNA) to Canada, granting immigrant status with no limitations whatsoever. In June 1950, in violation of its own laws, the Canadian government granted entry to Hitler's accomplices from the SS, hospitably opening its borders to the operatives of a "death division," headsmen and slaughterers of women and children.

A large part of the division's personnel was residing in West Germany and Britain then, while many had left for Latin America.

The SS men evaded legal persecution. On the contrary, the lobbying efforts of Ukrainian nationalist organizations resulted in their being absolved of all sins and put on the same footing as immigrants and other displaced persons (DPs). Therefore, the Nazi murderers were given the status of persons who had suffered from self-inflicted terror.

Today, former men of the SS Halychyna Division (1st Ukrainian Division of the UNA) are concentrated mostly in Britain in Europe and in the USA and Canada in America. Besides, Canada has become a haven for war criminals who reside under fictitious names or were found to be concealing some other information concerning themselves and their past. Those SS men who were refused entry into the USA had no trouble settling in Canada. They cashed in on the fact that, by Canadian law and in contrast to US legislation, giving false information when applying for entry into Canada and for Canadian citizenship the perjuror does not forfeit his citizenship.

The SS men live quite freely and easily in other lands, too. For instance, Great Britain, in the face of all its solemn declarations, finds all sorts of legal loopholes to avoid regarding them as war criminals. This is not just a heritage of the cold war against the USSR and the other socialist nations. The fact is that since the outset, there have been attempts by high-ranking persons and persons in authority to sabotage all attempts to bring war criminals to justice.

Sometimes this resulted in paradoxical events, even when Great Britain and the USA were at war with Germany. Thus, after two years in operation (1942 to 1944) a joint Anglo-American commission for investigating war crimes proposed a draft law in which wholesale destruction of life did not fall under the conception of a "war crime." Over the two years the commission came out with a list of 184 war criminals. But, incredibly, the chief war criminal Adolf Hitler was not even on the list, since the idea was to bring to justice those who took a strictly personal and direct part in the destruction of life.

Despite all the complexities of their relations and the differences in approach to the question of bringing Hitler's war criminals to justice during and after WWII, the governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the French Republic concluded a number of important treaties and adopted joint documents that retain their relevance even today.

Among the main joint international docu-

ments of the four major powers that waged war against Nazi Germany relating to questions of bringing Nazi war criminals to justice are:

— The Moscow Declaration on German Atrocities in Occupied Europe dated October 30, 1943. The draft declaration was introduced by Winston Churchill. The declaration as adopted proclaimed on behalf of the United Nations that persons guilty of acts of extermination "will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the Free Governments that will be erected therein... Let those who have hitherto not imbrued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied Powers * will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done."

— The London Agreement for the Prosecution and Punishment of the Major War Criminals of the European Axis dated August 8, 1945 between the governments of the USSR, the USA, the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and France in accordance with which the International Military Tribunal was set up;

— The Statute of the International Military Tribunal.

Besides the founders of the Tribunal — the USSR, the USA, Great Britain, and France, another 19 states — Australia, Belgium, Greece, India, Yugoslavia and others — fully approved

* The USSR, the USA, and Great Britain (V. S.)

the Statute's principles. Equally positive was the attitude that the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted toward the Statute, confirming that the Statute was based upon the principles and norms of international law.

For the purpose of the implementation of these agreements, the Control Council for Germany adopted, on December 20, 1945, Law No.10 for the punishment of persons guilty of war crimes, crimes against peace and against humanity. It contains the definition of these crimes, which in accordance with the wording of the Statute of the International Military Tribunal are formulated as follows:

"(a) Crimes against peace: namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements of assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing;

"(b) War crimes: namely, violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not be limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labour or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity;

"(c) Crimes against humanity: namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, de-

portation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war, or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated."

Whereas the Nuremberg trial investigated the crimes of a group of major German war criminals, Law No.10 provided for the punishment of not only major criminals but also of all persons guilty of war crimes, crimes against peace and against humanity. The law laid it down that the very fact of a person's membership in certain categories of a criminal group or organization proclaimed criminal by the International Military Tribunal was recognized as a criminal act.

Article 2 of Law No. 10 stated clearly and definitely that:

A person, whatever his nationality and irrespective of rank or position, is considered to have committed a crime provided this person was: a. a major participant or

b. guilty of or responsible for these crimes, whether this person had ordered them or had instigated them;

c. gave consent to the participation in them;

d. took part in the elaboration of plans and measures that led to the commission of these crimes.

In the course of the trials of Nazi criminals, attempts were often made by defendants of various calibers to justify the atrocities they had committed by orders from above which,

allegedly, they had to execute. The Statute of the International Military Tribunal and Law No.10 of the Control Council for Germany is definite and explicit on that point: "The fact that a person acted pursuant to order of his Government or of a superior does not relieve him of responsibility..."

The Statute of the International Military Tribunal to which there is a reference in Article 2 of Law No.10 (item *d* of the first paragraph) provides a broader definition of membership in a criminal group or organization. Article 10 of the Statute says that if the Tribunal recognizes the criminality of whatever group or organization, the competent authorities of every party-signatory have a right to bring persons to the courts of national, military, and occupation tribunals for membership in this group or organization. In these cases, the criminal character of a group or organization is regarded as proved and cannot be challenged.

The Nuremberg International Military Tribunal, which finished its work in October 1946, recognized as criminal organizations, besides the leadership of the Nazi Party (NSDAP):

the Gestapo, the state secret police,

the SS, guard detachments,

the SD, the SS security service.

On the strength of this definition of the Nuremberg Tribunal and in accordance with the letter of the Statute of the Tribunal which states that in these cases the criminal character of a group or an organization (in this case SS and SD — V. S.) is regarded as proved and cannot be challenged, the conclusion is inevitable that the SS Halychyna Division (1st

Ukrainian Division of the UNA) and its members committed:

a. crimes against peace: participation in waging of a war of aggression in violation of international law, treaties and agreements;

b. war crimes: atrocities and acts of hostility against people and property, including murder, deportation to slave labour in Germany of civilian populations of occupied territories, killing of prisoners-of-war and hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns and villages and devastation not justified by military necessity;

c. crimes against humanity: murder, extermination, deportation, torture, rape commited against civilian populations, persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds.

In accordance with Law No.10, which is fully in keeping with the provisions of the Statute of the International Military Tribunal, the very membership in certain categories of a criminal group or organization proclaimed criminal by the International Military Tribunal is recognized as criminal; i. e., membership in the SS Halychyna Division and its successor, the 1st UD of the UNA, is recognized as criminal. No references to the fact that the SS men from the Halychyna Division acted on orders from Himmler, Freitag, Shandruk or under the general command of other SS superiors, as was the case during the annihilation of the village of Huta Pieniacka relieve them of responsibility for their crimes (article 2*a*, § 4, item *b*).

It should be added to this that the statute of limitations does not apply to crimes commit-

ted by the SS, SD, Gestapo and their units — specifically, the SS Halychyna Division/1st UD of the UNA. In 1968, the 23rd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations confirmed that provision by adopting a convention on the non-application of the statute of limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity.

In the light of these and numerous other legal provisions, the utter unseemliness and futility of attempts of whitewashing their actions to the public made by the direct participants in many crimes, former men and officers of the SS Halychyna Division (1st UD of the UNA) and of the Ukrainian Legion of Self-Defense (the 31st SD Punitive Detachment) and other punitive detachments incorporated into the division becomes all the more obvious. That is an impossible task, however they might strive to shield themselves with the onesidedly sympathetic legal provisions of Canada and other western countries which have made them emigrants or interned persons and all but victims of Nazism.

The SS men from the SS Halychyna Division (1st Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army) who collaborated with the Nazis and who still live free and easy lives on the territories of a number of Western countries must be brought to trial and punished for the crimes they committed. Rather than a matter of revenge, this will be a necessary cleansing of human society of its rabid enemies, war criminals and instigators of neo-Nazi terrorist and subversive sallies.

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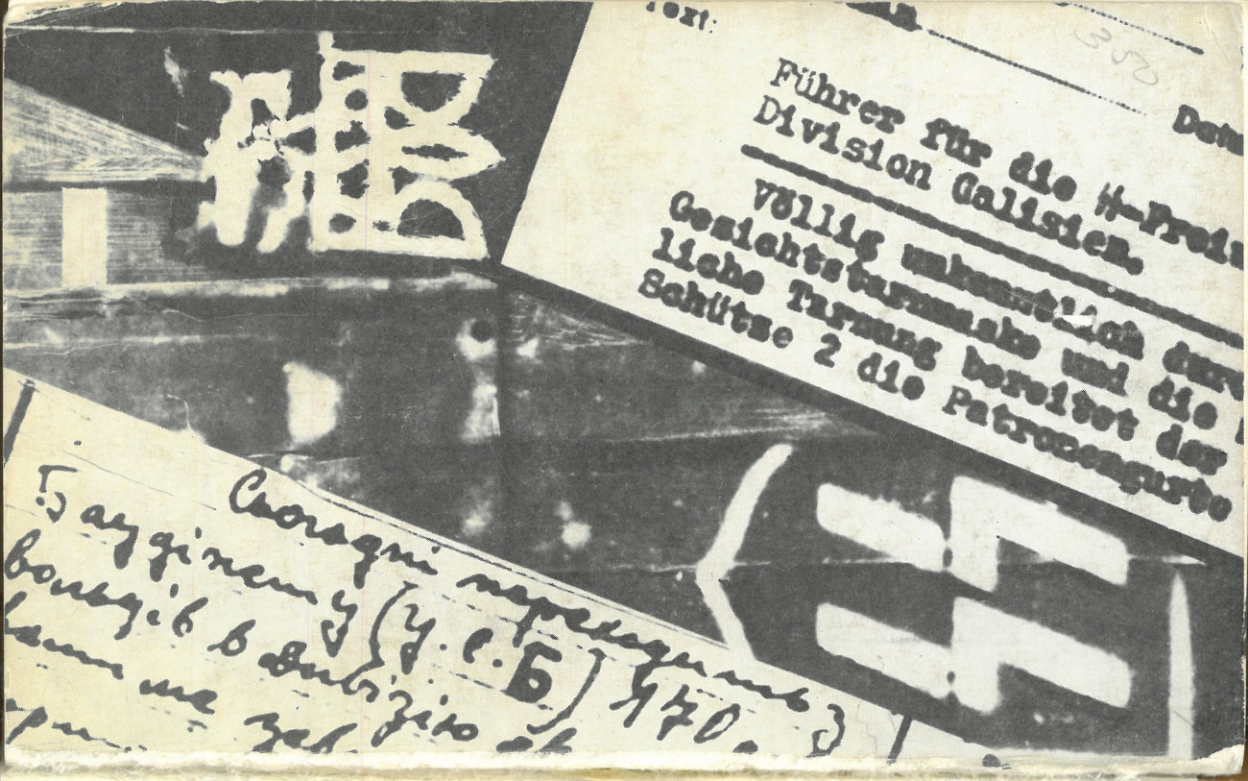

Text:

Datum

Führer für die SS-Frei
Division Galisien.

Völlig unkenntlich dur
Gesichtstarnmaske und die
liche Tarnung bereitet der
Schütze 2 die Patronengurte

Сьогодні переходить з
Баудінету (У.С.Б) 470.
вольців в дивізію